Iwi Cultural Identity: The Praxis of Tūpuna Narrative

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Amelia Amy Tuihana Williams

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Abstract

This research is a narrative-based study of tūpuna narrative practices. As a privileged medium tūpuna narratives construct the conditions of iwi praxis which leads to mana-motuhake: the political independence and self-determination of Māori. This study explores how the Ngāti Koi applied 'tūpuna narratives' to challenge the hegemonic identity imposed on them that effectively alienated and silenced them erasing their memories of who they were and are. It is an auto-ethnography of an iwi, a whānau, a family it is a story about the writer. While this may seem a personal objective, the result indicates a cultural problematic in that the search for identity involves a critical kaupapa Māori investigation for an iwi to make sense of the act of colonisation, the colonial institutions that named them and the revitalization of their iwi identity in a Treaty of Waitangi context.

This study has found that 'tūpuna narratives' represent identity conceptions that have implications for traditional normative practices. In narrative study there are no prescribed means for unearthing and creating meanings, research methods take the form of co-construction, the emphasis is on doing what is necessary to capture the lived experiences of iwi in terms of their particular-and-unique circumstances. Over time dominant theories have tended to align narrative practices with journalism, storytelling, myth and legend, tale and fable diminishing its conceptual role as the 'epistemological other' of the social sciences.

The findings of this research illustrate the significant limitations of these theories. Narrative research is considered both a research method 'in itself' and also the phenomenon under study. In this study, narrative is applied as a conceptual metaphor to create interpreted descriptions, to understand and link causal historical and personal events to colonial institutional decision-making. Placed within the conceptual constellation of Kaupapa Māori narrative methodology becomes a powerful tool for change: creating the conditions of iwi praxis which is the making, the transformation and revitalisation of iwi cultural identity.

As I write Hauraki enters a Treaty of Waitangi ‘settled world’ the settlement formulae premised on the falsified stories begat by nineteenth-century institutional decision-makers. These stories have created a legacy of unease as open inter iwi hostilities are unleashed. Treaty settlements should result in rangimarie-peace, justice and praxis for iwi both internal to, and external of its polity and cultural borders. Clearly, they do not and the need for tūpuna narratives, free of colonial-institutional storying, remains.

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tēnā kōrua, tēnā kōrua.

For my daughter Tuhiao-Rose Ani Akinihi Williams: to live, write and create new

narratives.

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Glossary

This glossary explains the definitions of key terms utilised in this work, they are placed in order of where they appear in the text of the thesis and at the front of this study to enable the reader to progress into and through this work.

Ahi kaa	burning fires to demonstrate occupation
(Ā)āhua	to form or to make, appearance
Ako	teach, learn
Anei	here, here it is, here they are
Ao	world
Aotearoa	New Zealand
Aotearoa	the term applied by Māori for what is now known as New Zealand
Aroha	love, respect, sympathy
Awa	river
Colonisation	The transfer of resources from the original inhabitants to new settlers of a country through displacement, warfare, appropriation, theft and institutional policy of the original inhabitants. The implanting of socio-cultural systems at a societal through macro levels of government and the supplanting of the values and principles of the colonising culture. This act does stop or disappear it continues on in new sophisticated ways that become accepted by all.
Colonism	The political conquest of one society by another followed by social domination and cultural change (Tuhiwai Smith)
Conscientisation	Is the awareness of cultural actors that their lives are inhumane: they are oppressed and subordinated due to their ‘frozen’ understandings, their acceptance, of their social and historical specificities.

Conscientisation	The process of developing a critical awareness of one's social reality through reflection
Critical Kaupapa Māori	A conceptual constellation. Where this term is applied as a theory or methodology, I have treated this word as a title (proper noun) and capitalized. Where this term is applied as a field of study the words critical and kaupapa are written in lower caps.
Culture	The maps of meaning, frameworks of intelligibility which allow us to make sense of things at an everyday level. Meaning arises because of the shared conceptual maps which groups of a cultural society share together. Symbols are imposed to assist the meaning systems of objects outside of our peripheral understandings.
Decolonisation	The act of getting rid of colonization and the re-establishment of Māori language, epistemology, systems policies and processes. The act of freeing a colony (under the control of another country) from the authority, the governance of another country. Decolonising actions can lead to praxis however, it does not require conscientisation as the primary prerequisite.
Hapū	a kinship group, a clan which form an iwi a subtribe of a tribe
Harakeke	flax
Hauraki Māori	Māori Trust Board legislated for the 12 iwi of
Hui ā Iwi	Meeting or assembly of iwi
Hui	formal Māori meeting indigenous people
Iwi	extended kinship group, tribe, nation, people, composed of family, whānau and hapū, nationality
Kai	food

Kaiako	teacher
Kainga	village, home
Kaitiaki	Trustee, minder, guard, custodian, guardian,
Karakia	incantation, chant
Karanga	In its literal sense this word means ‘to call.’ In this study it relates the ceremonial custom of calling to welcome visitors onto a marae, there are two elements to this practice the ‘first call’ is that of the tangata whenua, the second element is the answering call: the response by the manuhiri
Kaumātua	An elder Māori person. An elderly woman, an elderly man. They can be referred to as a singular person or a group of people.
Kaupapa Māori	Māori philosophy and practice
Kaupapa	philosophy
Kawa	protocols
Kete	flax basket
Koha	gift
Kōrero	speak
Kōrerorero	discuss, chat, converse
Kuia	elder (woman)
Kura Kaupapa Māori	Kaupapa Māori immersion primary schools
Kura tuarua	Kaupapa Māori immersion secondary schools
Kura	school
Mā muri ā mua ka tika.	The past before us, the future behind us. The first Māori Minister of Native Affairs Sir James Carroll (1899) is accredited with the authorship of this whakataukī - saying ‘mā muri ka tika ā mua’ which means learn from the ‘past to prepare for the future.’ Over time a gradual process of transformation has ‘morphed’ this saying into its current application as applied in this study, its author Rangi Matamua, (2015).
Māhī	work

Mamae	be painful, sore, hurt
Mana	status, prestige, dignity
Manaakitanga	hospitality
Manuhiri	visitors
Māori	A Māori is an indigenous person of New Zealand. Over two-thirds of a million people identify as Māori. Māori are the largest minority group (14.9 per cent).
Māoritānga	Māori culture
Marae	The archive of traditional iwi history, a place to; practice formalised rituals and customs, to meet and deliberate, to receive visitors,
Marama (Ngamarama)	Tūpuna ancestress of Ngāti Tokanui.
Mātauranga Māori	traditional Māori knowledge
Mātua	parent
Maunga	mountain
Meaning:	a way of making sense, to ascribe give meaning to understand an event, occurrence, phenomenon.
Mihi	greeting
Milieu	a group comprising cultural elements determined by social, economic and political factors
Moemoeā	dream, vision
Mōhiotanga	practical knowledge
Mokopuna	grandchild
Ngahutoitoi	The marae (the tribal home) of Ngāti Koi, Ngāti Tara Tokanui
Ngākau	emotions
Ngāti	Tribe. A tribe is composed of hapū and whānau
Ngāti Awa	Bay of Plenty tribe
Ngāti Koi	A name utilised synonymously with Ngāti Tara. Tara and Koi mean the same: point, spike, sharp. The descendants of Tiki Te Aroha, the oldest son of Tara born in Hauraki, take the name Ngāti Koi.
Ngāti Porou	Tribal grouping

Ngāti Tara Tokanui	Are the modern names utilised by the people who descend from Koi, Marama-Ngamarama, Tara and Tokanui.
Ngāti Tara Tokanui	the amalgamation of the descendants of Marama and Tara
Office of the Treaty Settlements	The Treaty settlement process is facilitated by the Office of the Treaty Settlements. Commonly referred to as 'OTS.' In 2019 this department changed its name to Te Arawhiti: The office for Māori Crown Relations.
ōrite	equity, balance
Otenuku Marae	A marae of Ngai Tuhoe in Ruatoki
	others, the principal of introductions and clarification of who I am, of where I come from, of where I speak from, of where I 'am personally positioned' and where this work is located culturally, historically and epistemologically.
Pā	traditional fortified site
Pākehā	non-Māori New Zealanders
Pan Māori organization	Relating to, representing, or involving all Māori
Papatūānuku	Mother Earth
	people
Pepeha	tribal saying, tribal motto, proverb, set form of words, formulaic expression, saying of the ancestors, a figure of speech, motto, slogan.
Pito	umbilical cord, connection to the land
Postcolonial	Occurring or existing after the end of colonial rule.
Poupou	Wall-pillars, post, pole, upright slabs forming the framework of the walls of a house, peg, stake
Pōwhiri	ceremony of welcome
Praxis	For this study, praxis is the process undertaken by iwi to achieve mana-motuhake leading to tino

	rangatiratanga. The end goal of praxis is tino rangatiratanga which is the ultimate authority the control and power of institutional practices of government. The perquisite of praxis is conscientisation.
Rangatira (OMD)	to be of high rank, of high rank, noble, esteemed,
Rangatiratanga	chieftainship, control
Ranginui	Father Sky
Raranga	weaving
	revered
Ringa raupā	Decolonising Researcher. Works with and alongside iwi to conscientize and achieve praxis strategies.
Ringatū	Also known as the 'The Church of the Upraised Hand' a Māori Christian faith established by Te Kooti Rikirangi. Ngāti Koi iwi converted to the Ringatu Faith in the early 1860s and built a wharenui for Te Kooti named Te Nui ō te Pā. Hapū of Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Rongowhakaata and Te Aitanga a Mahaki, from the East Coast: Gisborne Tolaga Bay settled at Mataora which is situated next to Waihi, a seaward Pā of Ngāti Koi.
Rohe	region
Roimata	tears
Ruatoki	A beautiful place belonging to Ngai Tuhoe, for they and their iwi to define and describe
Rūnanga	to discuss in an assembly
Taha Māori	Māori perspective
Taha tinana	physical health
Tāhuhu	main ridgepole of the house
Tainui	tribal group from Hamilton region
Tangata Whenua	Reflects the primacy of Māori in New Zealand, literally translated the term means 'people of the land.' The practice of planting the placenta

	genealogically ties individuals to a specific rohe demarcated by a specific tribal grouping. people who whakapapa to an area of land,
Tangata	a person, a male, an individual
Tangihanga	burial ceremony
Taonga	property
Tapu	restricted, sacred
Tara	Tūpuna eponymous ancestor of Ngāti Tara
Tauira	student, learner
Tauiwi	foreigner, non-Māori
Te Aho Mātua	guiding philosophy for Kura Kaupapa Māori
Te Kauae Raro	practical knowledge
Te Kauae Runga	esoteric knowledge
Te Reo	Te Reo is the language of Māori, 3.7 per cent of the total population are fluent speakers of Te Reo, New Zealand has an adult literacy rate of 99 per cent.
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	The Treaty of Waitangi
Tēina	younger sibling
The Crown	the British monarchy
The Hauraki Māori Trust Board	Represents 12 iwi groups of Hauraki. Ratified under the Trust Boards Act 1956.
Tikanga Māori	Māori protocol and customary practice
Tikanga	correct procedure, custom, method, rule, code, meaning, plan, practice, convention, protocol
Tino rangatiratanga	autonomy, self-determination
Tīpuna of tūpuna	ancestors, grandparents – eastern dialect variation
Tīpuna of tūpuna	ancestors, grandparents – eastern dialect variation
Tohu	Guide, spectre, a portent of warning
Tohunga	expert, facilitator of ritual
	Tokanui
Tokanui	Descendent of Marama (Ngamarama)

Treaty Settlements	an agreement reached between the government and a Māori community or group in respect of a land claim related to the Treaty of Waitangi
Tuākana	elder sibling
Tuku iho	handed down
Tūpuna tawhito	eponymous ancestor
Tūpuna	ancestor
Tūrangawaewae	home, a place to stand
Tūturu	authentic
Utu	payment, reciprocity
Wai 100	A Claim number allocated to the Hauraki Māori Trust Board by the Waitangi Tribunal
Wai No	When a claim meets the requirements of the Tribunal it is registered and allocated a Wai No. 'Wai' is short for Waitangi Tribunal Claim, it is proceeded by a number allocated by the Tribunal. The Claim taken by Ngāti Koi was registered as Wai 714.
Waiata	song
Waitangi Tribunal	A standing commission of inquiry. It makes recommendations to the government on claims brought by Māori relating to legislation, acts or commissions by the Crown that are alleged to have breached the principles set out in the Treaty of Waitangi.
Wāka	canoe
Wananga	institution of higher learning, to study in-depth
Whaikōrero	formal speech
Whakaaro	thought
Whakairo	caring
Whakaiti	humility, humble
Whakamā	reserved, retiring, shy, shame
Whakamoemiti	to praise, express thanks
Whakapapa	genealogy

Whakarongo	listen
Whakataukī	Proverbial saying, similar to pepeha a whakatauki is a short, well known, vigorously expressed saying which is usually tribal in origin and the author is accredited. Overtime a number of whakatauki - sayings have held national-global appeal and sadly the author's name has been expunged.
Whakawhānaungatanga	process of establishing relationships, relating well to others. The principle of narrative identification; of who am I, where I come from and why have I come here are the foundations on which this thesis shall stand and talk. The process of relationships, relating well to
Whānaungatanga	relationship, kinship, sense of family connection - a relationship through shared experiences and working together which provides people with a sense of belonging. It develops as a result of kinship rights and obligations, which also serve to strengthen each member of the kin group
Whānau	an extended family grouping, that comprise a hapū.
Whānau	extended family
Whānaunga	relatives
Whāngai	feed, Māori adoption process
Whare wānanga	house of higher learning
Whatu	to weave
Whare	house
Whenua	land

Prologue

Mā Muri ā Mua Ka Tika

The silencing of memories erases the sense of who you are, the supplanting of another's memory destroys who you are, the political value of what is forgotten reminds us of the deep connections between knowing, memory and freedom.
(Chamberlain, 1998, p. 46).

Voices, always shouting voices, many distant but for one so close the spit joined with mine. "Repent, repent your sins or you will go to hell." The monotonal litany accompanied the gibberish of 'speaking in tongues' intoning commencement of the Saturday tarry meeting. Admonishment would follow but sleep; merciful sleep would soon envelop blocking the cacophony of the sisters preparing me for holy baptism. Yes! I lived with my family in two worlds for 21 years. In 1954 our parents joined a 'closed' religious sect. All life premised on the literal interpretations of stories taken from the Bible embodied a skew'd `mix of 'Pentecostal extremism' and the tikanga practices of our parents. Neither world met at home we lived the precepts of Ringatū yet, to the world we were the 'Commonwealth Covenanters' known locally as the 'Hallelujah Bible Bangers.'

It was not 'just' the stories that kept us melded to the church: stories were associated with the abundance of delightful treats, at Christmas time they dangled from a ten-foot-high pine tree. Easter was marked with chocolate and the annual pilgrimage to Otenuku Marae in the Ruatoki Valley: the church house built on land generously gifted by the high chief Takurua Tamarau. This was a place mum and dad, under supervision, could be with other iwi and hear the prayers of the Ringatū ariki to early hours of the morning (Milroy, 2017). It was not all that, that kept us bound to life in the church it was the abundance of compassion we received from the people we called our brothers and sisters: for we were all willing members of the Commonwealth Covenant Church. Founded on the precepts of evangelism, Pentecostal revival and British-Israel theology, it is the latter that set this assemblage apart from most other Christian movements of the day. John Sadler coined the term British-Israel in 1649. A Member of the British Parliament, Sadler was a member of a movement that believed the Aryan Nordic

(Anglo Saxons- British) people of Europe were “genetically linked to the lost tribes of Israel. This genetic tie placed people of British extraction in a class above all others” (Greer, 2004, p.15). The hierarchy of the church; the founders, the lay and senior pastors were disciples devoted to the teachings of Sadler. ‘Upped class’ post-war migrants they spilled out of the tenement, the stately houses (downstairs quarters) of Elizabeth’s England pursuing the proselyte footprints of their Victorian compatriots. “Anglo Israelism is also attributed to Francis Drake – the English explorer, James V1 the first Stuart King of England and James 1” (Fine, 2015), the latter “believed he was the King of Israel” (Brackney, 2017, p.61).

Māori were not included in this ‘classed’ gaggle indeed interracial marriages, interracial ‘socializing’ was repudiated. All human contact ‘strictly’ monitored by the church lay unreasonably obsessed in their attempts to control the individual female-male contact. Control, a central responsibility of the senior pastors was divvied out through ‘end of world’ stories, proclamations, prophecy, extorting sermons, mandatory public revealing of confidential disclosures and decisive time management.

An invented lineage to Christian reformers Luther and Calvin, Wesley and their metaphorical New Zealand son Marsden replaced the whakapapa of our iwi Ngāti Koi Ngāti Tara Tokanui. English idioms and social mores constructed our public lives. The church members were our ‘family in Christ.’ Tūpuna narratives and their traditional practices of performance were replaced by the parables of Jesus Christ and the sermonising of the brother-pastor. The church building considered the ‘House of God' replaced the Marae. The King James Version of the Bible ‘taken literally’ formed the foundation stories guiding the principles for all social interaction, social relations chief among these were “subservience, psychological abuse, exclusion and separation” from the world (Weeks, 2016). A ladder of civilisation existed in the minds of the leaders: Māori had yet to rise out of the earth to scale the first rung ‘we’ were the fortunate few saved from a life of sin and damnation. Other than attending a public school participating in ‘worldly’ activities such as reading anything other than church censored documents, listening to the radio, watching television, all were prohibited. Socializing with,

talking to and or befriending ‘outsiders:’ particularly our relations, wearing up to date fashion, showing body skin, were strictly forbidden.

There was no place for kawa ‘at church’ the world of ‘the’ personal intermeshed with the world of worship. At home we spoke English we ate a prescribed ‘low’ meat diet, we lived frugally, we did not visit our relations, the church community doubled as our whānau. However, that is where it ended. Christian values were practised in a home defined by tikanga. We shared, lived and worked as one cohesive team. The rules - the kawa of the marae, based on Ringatū religion, were adapted defining the way we gardened, ate food, toileted, combed our hair and washed our clothes. Nothing remained untouched. The house was zoned: specific places set aside for wahine related issues, for preparing kai, ablutions. Karakia took place in a room bared of kai personal belongings were cleared away the bedroom doors always closed.

My siblings and I had no knowledge of our grandparents, our relations, no knowledge of what they looked ‘like.’ At school cousins introduced themselves saying who they were and how they were related to me, their attempts were always met with a loud rejection. This connection could not be possible: my church family did not attend the local school, they did not look like this personage before me. But, deep, deep inside a voice keened to know, to be heard, to know the light of day to narrate the connectedness of kith and kin stretching back before primordial time, back to cosmogony.

Mum and Dad had a loving and strong relationship based on the principles of kaupapa Māori, Ringatū tikanga permeated their lives. Hone Tiwaewae was a beautifully articulate orator both in Te Reo Māori and English. His extensive knowledge of iwi of the world of Ringatū, into which he had been born and trained, were set aside for a life of ‘ministry’ in the church. His voice scripted by the covenanters silenced his orations of iwi whakapapa and the ancient narratives bequeathed by tūpuna. Our mother was strong, an indomitable force she ‘fought;’ to shield us and change the system, to speak her truth, to korero Māori to keep our links with Ruatoki alive. Tired of the ‘pulpit’ sanctified abuse, the wrongs of a class-race based society and the isolation from her whānau, our mother left the

church. Against the preaching's of the church Dad and I remained living with mum and our family. Fourteen years later the Kerepehi branch unexpectedly closed. My life 'emptied' of all significance, structure, belonging, cognition of self, of an encoded identity inculcated over time. The influence of the church pervasive as a spore of culture had secreted itself into every facet of our lives. Indeed, it was life itself. The 'church,' a microcosm of New Zealand society was a specific representation of the dominant Pākehā culture it simply wielded its version of the "cultural values of the wider society" in a manner defined by Smith (2012) as "the imperialistic power of subjugation" (p.22), and by Hall (2009) "as hegemonic containment" (p.249) in a more precise and brutal manner (Smith, 2012, p.22). Life in a confused interminable way carried on. Over time we learned we belonged to an iwi, our marae was called Ngahutoitoi a new world of cousins extended whanau, unquestioning, opened their doors and that was the end of the story.

Conflict

On the 13 November 1997, the Hauraki Māori Trust Boards research reports were presented to the Waitangi Tribunal. The handover ceremony held at our iwi marae. A 'special task force' team produced 40,000 pages of evidence amassed in eleven volumes; the largest research report received in the history of the Tribunal. Celebrated historians, emeritus professors, and social policy researchers presented vibrant colourful portrayals of the storied world of specific Hauraki iwi. Towards the end of the hui, Dr Robyn Anderson tabled her report setting out a wrongful account of our iwi, a history of denigration and derision. Turning towards us Mum whispered, 'that's us, our iwi, we were known as Ngāti Koi.' Throughout the 'reading' Mum and Dad brushed away tears: this was far from the colourful speeches claiming justice and rangimarie for Hauraki that we had all hoped for. Our history had been told for us, not by us and without consultation. Rather than accept the falsities the report became the catalyst for action by our parents and kaumātua. The next four years became a search for truths iwi research teams were established reclaiming our stolen whakapapa and righting the storied wrongs of our iwi, sadly crucial evidence was not uncovered until the latter stages of this PhD thesis. 2001 marked a milestone: Wai 714 a claim by Hone Tiwaewae Williams on behalf of Ngati Koi was heard before the Waitangi Tribunal. When

they stood before the Tribunal kaumātua were narrating the tūpuna narratives of Ngāti Koi. Pages of narratives inscribed by the voices of long ago tūpuna were brought to life establishing the need to rescue and protect tūpuna narratives so they will never be forgotten, lost, or erased. Questions of how to protect to enable them to fulfil their original function of 'remembering' and 'transmission of knowledge' in situ, arise. While these may seem personal questions, the result of asking them indicates a cultural - sociological problematic in that the search for whakapapa and identity based on narrative modalities involves a political, social and cultural examination. These are the essential matters of this study.

Positioning

The prologue within a narrative study is important for positioning the author within their work. 'Positioning' is an important aspect of academic scholarship, it is a way of keeping familial relationships within scholastic studies on an objective and transparent level. In this story the writer is positioned within a wider story of iwi configured by the narrative of the "colonisation of Aotearoa" (Belgrave & Young, 1991; Ward, 1974; Owens, 1981; Belich, 1987; Orange, 1987; Walker, 1990). As an indigenous writer my identity, my sense of being is strongly connected with place, it positions the location of this text not only geographically, but politically and culturally. If narrative enacts the epistemological position that no research is neutral "all research is written from somewhere, and that somewhere matters," if the word indigenous means people of a place then from the perspective of this study that place is Marae and this study is an indigenous place of writing (Thompson, 2016). By utilising the theories and methodologies of critical kaupapa Māori 'the traditional western voice is dislodged from its place of historical paramountcy enabling the normalisation, validation, the legitimacy of Māori conceptual approaches. It is within these academic spaces that I speak in 'first voice' as:

- Māori,
- a member of an iwi,
- an indigenous scholar,
- a woman of colour living within a 'colonised' society.

Chapter One

Tūpuna narrative: narrating praxis

Her voice calls in that timeless karanga
the wing'ed descant aloft the marae ātea,
her finely chiselled moko resplendent, ancient
as the kuia bestowed the mana of Ngāi Tūhoe.
She, our mother, replies to her call
proud to bring us back,
back to make right,
the things of the past.
karanga mai, karanga mai, karanga mai

1.1 Introduction

This study is about the importance of tūpuna narratives as the receptacles the repositories of iwi cultural identity. They are the rich multi-layered accounts of iwi history. Given their significance the key question of this study is what are tūpuna narratives and how do they inform iwi praxis? I intend to answer this question through the exploration, recovery, and analysis of tūpuna narrative practices. They are examined at a local level, as a form of iwi empowerment and at a macro level in relationship to the institutional discourses of power and ownership of the cultural and physical resources of New Zealand.

I examine how the struggle for identity revitalisation is a dynamic process in which social interpretations of iwi are politically and culturally constructed. As a valid form of methodology tūpuna narratives 'suffer' from being institutionalized, manipulated, captured, and distorted by external interests.

"The Waitangi Tribunal is a permanent Commission of Inquiry into matters relating to alleged breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi. Initially restricted to hearing matters arising since its creation 1975, in 1984 its reach of powers were expanded to the signing of the Treaty in 1840" the basis of its evidence 'largely' informed by the tūpuna narratives of iwi (Gilling, 1994, p.25). Being an inquisitorial institution one would expect that any recounting of iwi history

prepared for ‘the purposes of’ the Waitangi Tribunal would be drawn from the tūpuna narratives of the respective iwi they refer to and that those narratives would be rigorously fact-checked as a representative account of what that specific iwi understand their history to be. From the perspectives of the claimants of Wai 714, this process did not occur.

In this study, I argue that the Native Land Court, the Waitangi Tribunal, the Office of Treaty Settlements are institutional sites where iwi cultural, social and political discourses are performed and constructed, where meanings are made, contested, and deconstructed (Hanrahan, 2012). To speak of the historical positioning of iwi requires a narrative inquiry to understand the relationship between institutional hegemonic discourses of power and the ongoing colonisation processes of Aotearoa-New Zealand. In this context, I argue that the absence of tūpuna narratives resulted in the diminishment and abstentia of Ngāti Koi in the Hauraki Treaty Claims process.

The eastern boundaries of the Hauraki in the early 19th century was to be the first arena in which the British colonial administration came into contact with coherent, independent and sovereign iwi polities. On this border between European administrators and iwi dominated societies official strategies for the exclusion and the ‘guarded’ incorporation of iwi were first formed. These were macro centred (within the settler government and political policy-making environment), the local (within the context of the colonial experiences when it first turns up in the community), the present (within the Hauraki Treaty Settlements process).

There is no single discourse through which we can understand the transmutation of colonisation over-time ‘in order to’ understand its persistence “some scholars call the British occupation of [Aotearoa] colonism, some call it colonialism, some colonial banality. Whatsoever the ‘name’ the outcome [for Māori and iwi] remains the same the loss of narrative practices, loss of culture and ideology resulting in cultural genocide as the right to sovereignty and self-governance” (Grossberg, 2015).

This study is about re-evaluating tūpuna narratives and the methods employed by Ngāti Koi to rescue and protect them, to enable them to fulfil their original function of 'remembering' and transmission of knowledge in what will be from now on referred to as the reclamation strategies of iwi praxis.

1.1.2 How this study is organised

Chapter One introduces the study, it provides a 'brief' summary of the content of each chapter and how they are organised. A brief overview of the Treaty of Waitangi ends this chapter.

My intent in *Chapter Two* is to demonstrate the importance of tūpuna narratives, the focus of this study they are a valid form of historical method which oralised over the generations have become repositories of iwi ideology, knowledges and epistemology. I set out how traditional (cultural) ways legitimate the validity of tūpuna narratives and how they might be protected. As a conceptual field of study, they become evaluatable models that bring historical events to life in a rich and meaningful way. I set out the important characteristics of narrative practices to critically interrogate the intersections between story and narrative with the objective of establishing a narrative study as a conceptual field in-its-own right, By grounding the study within the conceptual framework of Kaupapa Māori I position tūpuna narrative practices as transformative praxis strategies applicable to institutional, political and indigenous contexts. According to Josselson and Lieblich (2003) "narratives are powerful" (p.3), I test this hypothesis by comparing key narratives of iwi Māori alongside independent nation-states as a way of drawing a co-relationship between narrative and iwi praxis.

Chapter Three is about praxis I explore this concept through the theoretical lens of critical kaupapa Māori a conceptual framework incorporating Marxist critical theory it provides the method of how praxis works in relation to tūpuna narratives. I outline the method of appending the western concept of 'critical' to kaupapa Māori pointing out the distinctions between each framework relevant to their respective approaches. Praxis is about revolutionary-transformative-change, it is a

non-violent alternative to warfare and key to embedding this process is the Ringa Raupā – a Decolonised Researcher, the inductor of praxian change. The intent is to understand the developing nature of iwi praxis by examining the transformative potential of synthesizing tūpuna narrative practices with western concepts and Māori epistemological frameworks, The praxis approach of this study relates to a collective reality and their inability to recognise historical specificity.

Chapter Four is the methodology chapter. The methodological approach of this study is based on the kaupapa Māori principles of whakapapa and whānaungatanga this enables me to discover and align 'disparate' western concepts as a means of elucidating ideology and how it works in relationship to the hegemonic norms of colonisation. Narrative study is a relatively new field of study, I explore new terminology and methods drawing on the work of Graham Hingangaroa Smith, a champion of Māori Education. By aligning critical and kaupapa as academic scholarship he established praxis as a foundation of Māori academic scholarship. My aim in this chapter is to demonstrate how studies on iwi and Māori must be from their perspectives of how they understand, interpret and narrate that worldview to be (Geertz, 1973). This resonates with the methods of critical kaupapa Māori research practice where the researched community become partners in the endeavour, understood and known from the contexts that pertain to them.

Chapter Five is about identity. Over time 'identity theory' has been subject to a sustained criticism with many scholars pointing to its limitations, its essentialist origins fixated on categorical approaches incapable of taking into account culture, change and identity revitalisation. Because I want to protect and reclaim narrative practices I discuss indigenous perspectives of identity to provide new ways of theorising the 'thorny project of identity.' New ways of applying conceptual approaches are required to develop our understandings of colonisation and the struggles for iwi to revitalise and reclaim their cultural sovereignty. Rather than join the increasing contestation around the binary of Māori (the colonized) *or* Pākehā (the colonizer) (Meredith, 1997, p. 1). I draw on kaupapa Māori concepts aligned with critical approaches in an attempt to rethink assumptions about iwi sovereignty, culture and tūpuna identity practices.

This chapter leads into ***Chapter Six*** which is an examination of the role of settlers to Hauraki and the impact of their decision-making. While institutional forces played a major role in the silencing of Ngāti Koi iwi praxis it is the dealings of James Mackay Jnr that constructed its demise. The strategies undertaken by Mackay redefined the cultural environment, the social and political infrastructure of Ngāti Koi. This was achieved through: the falsification of Ngāti Tokanui, Ngāti Koi whakapapa the constructing, by inserting, a hegemonic identity and the 'divvying up' of Hauraki land, assets and resources to selected rangatira: creating plenitudinous wealth for some and the entrenched intergenerational pauperisation, cultural obliteration for others.

Chapter Seven the final chapter is a discussion of the findings and conclusions of each key element of each chapter. I discuss what has emerged as the major findings and implications of this research. An Epilogue discussing the major implications for Ngāti Koi and the Waitangi Tribunal ends this study.

1.2.1 The Treaty of Waitangi

Other than this condensed overview, discussion on the Treaty is minimal. It is applied within this study as a narrative device it's signing the marker of a significant conjuncture: the period of the formation of Aotearoa as a colonial state. There are many noted works on the Treaty of Waitangi see for example, Orange (1990), Ward (1991), Palmer (2008), Salmond (1991), Belich (1996). Grace (2006), Tawhai, et al.,. (2011), Moon (2002), Belgrave (2005) solely dedicated to its analysis and its current political ramifications on iwi Māori. According to Rumbles, there were two versions of the Treaty of Waitangi, one in Māori to which most of the Māori leaders signed and one in English (Orange, 1987, p. 90).

> Neither version of the Treaty [spoke to each other, *my words*], the English version gave the crown sovereignty the Māori version gave the Crown governance or kawanatanga while Māori maintained tino rangatiratanga or chieftainship. Both versions of the treaty narrate how they would

> guarantee protection of Māori resource and land rights. However, soon after the signing, the Treaty was practically ignored and what followed was the familiar colonial pattern of expropriation of land and cultural marginalisation of the indigenous people. (Rumbles, 1999, p.3)

According to Nikora "Treaties were seen as the humane way of embarking upon the colonising mission…on the part of the British, their past record of 'treatying' with other native peoples increasingly coming to be viewed as cruel, severe, inhumane and expensive..." (2007, p.17). In relationship to Ngāti Koi and Māori as a whole, this conduct remained undiminished, the expense of colonisation gleaned at the human cost of iwi is noted by the historian Oliver that "Māori born in the 1840s would have been – if lucky enough – still to be alive in the early 20th century (in Bassett & Kay, 2001, p.12).

1.2.2 Narrativising the Treaty

According to Belich New Zealand was viewed as the new El Dorado (Nikora, 1990, p. 17). Over the period 1852 – 1919, the Ohinemuri Catchment was named the El Dorado of New Zealand. Mining centred around three areas, at Karangahake, the Waitekauri and at Waihi (Bothroyd, et al., 2001, p.9). For Ngāti Koi the heart of the iwi rohe traverses the Ohinemuri Catchment it is divided into four basins the Waihi, Waitawheta, Waitekauri, the alluvial plains below Mackaytown: the Waihi basin alone is 140km^2 (Boothroyd, et al., p.2).

1.2.3 Conjuncture: Treaty as a marker

For Ngāti Koi, the Treaty of Waitangi marked a specific conjuncture. This period of transition is discussed through the theoretical lens of Grossberg's concept of 'conjuncturalism' because I seek to understand the contradictory and complex 'historical' realities that continue to shape the ordinary everyday lives of iwi. From the perspective of this theory treatys' and treatying' must be seen not only within the contexts that they are formed but those that continue long after their original concoction. The colonisation of Aotearoa created a conjuncture, "a revolutionary transformation which creates an organic crisis inseparable from all facets of life and society. This 'state' becomes so mutually re/defining the very identity of society and the possibility of imagining its future is no longer

possible." Characterised by social famine, cultural annihilation its eyewitnesses unable to stop the era of change being unleashed (Grossberg, 2015).

The concern of kaupapa Māori based studies is always context and conjuncture. I discuss conjuncture as a two-point concept firstly: conjuncturalism is a description of change and contradiction, it describes Ngāti Koi social formation as fractured and conflictual along multiple axes and planes constantly in search of balance and structural stabilities. Secondly: as a historically determined social formation it is not a slice of time, a period, but a moment defined by an accumulation of contradictions, a fusion of cataclysmic occurrences where the future of an iwi becomes 'tenuous to the extent it is on the verge of possible extinction (Grossberg, 2017).

The Treaty of Waitangi 'rubber-stamped' colonisation for Ngāti Koi iwi this created a conjuncture by interpolating, as it did, the British settlement of Aotearoa. Within these contexts, I explore the attempts of an iwi to reclaim and revitalize their cultural identity in a treaty settlement phase. Treaty settlements are the compensation by the Crown for the historical injustices it perpetrated on iwi, for some it is seen as the 'El Dorado' of Māoridom. For others, it has merely ushered in another epoch of marginalisation and pauperisation.

1.3 The summary of this chapter

The purpose of Chapter One was to open the inquiry yet, hold the balance between personal experience and theoretical knowledge. In this regard, the theories of critical kaupapa Māori and the conceptual fields of ethnographic study have been proposed as the guiding methodology for understanding the observed phenomenon. In stating that, I am not completely wedded to a specific theory and leave spaces for alternative conceptual voices in the hope of advancing theoretical approaches in relation to iwi, culture and identity.

The overall outcome of this study is to open the academic spaces for narrative practices as a field of study in their own right. And secondly to 'get 'us' further on down the theoretical road' to assist and further develop our understandings of colonisation and the continued oppression of Māori.

In the next chapter, I examine the role of narrative as a site for empowering and revitalizing iwi through articulating of Ngāti Koi tūpuna narratives and epistemologies - what will be referred to as '*reclamation narratives.*'

Chapter Two

Tūpuna Narrative

Stories idealise the world, tūpuna narratives change it.

(on Marx)

2.1 Introduction

This study examines how an iwi (Ngāti Koi) challenged and resisted the hegemonic identity that was imposed on them by the Crown in the late nineteenth century that effectively subjugated, alienated and silenced them erasing their memories of who they were and are. This chapter explores tūpuna narratives as a conceptual framework its primary role to create and communicate meaning and to provide the conditions that enable the conditions of iwi conscientisation and transformative praxis.

2.1.1 The overall aim and objectives of this chapter

The overall aims of this study are to investigate the veracity of the central question of this study which is: what are tūpuna narratives, how do they inform and create the conditions of iwi praxis and to investigate tūpuna narrative practices as a model of iwi praxis. Because I want to rescue so-as-to reclaim the narrative practices of iwi, in the next chapter I set out ways to protect and to safeguard Tūpuna Narratives for the iwi generations now and those yet to come.

The specific objectives of this chapter are:

- to define and discuss tūpuna narrative as a theory, and intervention strategy.
- to provide exemplars of iwi based tūpuna narratives and their conceptual underpinnings.
- to draw links between narrative and iwi methods of narration to demonstrate the authenticity and validity of tūpuna narrative practices.
- to critically interrogate the intersections between story and narrative with the objective of contributing to the establishment of narrative study as a conceptual field in-its-own right.

2.1.2 What this chapter is about

As an extension to the rudimentary terms set out in the glossary: this chapter commences with explanations of key terms relating to tūpuna narratives to enable the reader to access and engage with the information in this study from a fully informed point of view and to ensure a common understanding of the language, the content of the study as a whole.

In keeping with this theme, I discuss and define the characteristics of tūpuna narratives and how they have been applied by iwi and Māori. Articulated in many forms and mediums tūpuna narratives they include the totality of human expression. In section two, I discuss whakapapa as a narrated practice tracing the narrations of our mother and kaumātua who become the 'present-day' narrators transferring knowledge of the deep past: through to the present. I trace the actions of Mataora to highlight how tūpuna narratives become praxian motivators of change and transformation. A study on Intimate Partner Violence is explored to demonstrate the differences between kaupapa Māori narrative modalities and how positivist methodologies continue to entrench colonisation. In section 3, I investigate the interplay between story and narrative. Over time narrative and story have been utilised interchangeably to the extent scholars and institutional actors view these elements as 'one in the same,' I discuss this perception and its ramifications for iwi and tūpuna narrative practices.

2.1.3 Characteristics: defining tūpuna narrative

Forms of tūpuna narratives are expressed as; artistic interpretations, tā moko, waiata, ngā mōteatea, the written word, kōwhaiwhai, and whakairo, whakapapa, kōrerorero, pūrākau,-myth story, poem, pakiwaitara-legend, whaikōrero-formal speech, karanga-call, waiata-sing song, karakia, oriori-lullaby, kōwhaiwhai-painted patterns, whakairo-carving, tāniko-woven cloth, tukutuku-lattice, raranga-weaving, artistic multimedia representations (see Hiroa, 1979; Josselson & Lieblich, 2010; Lee, 2009; Mead, 2003; Salmond, 1991; Taituha, 2014; Williams, 1991; White, 1887;). Narrative practice is endemic to every indigenous culture. Their forms are limitless: expressed as symbolic, written, illustrative and spoken modes, "they are the descriptive accounts of the rich and multi-layered meanings of historical and personal events" (Josselson & Lieblich, 1985, p. 3).

For this study, the core characteristics of tūpuna narratives are [they]:-

- comprise elements of the process of change
- demonstrate a process of evolution from one world state to another
- do not change
- iwi are the protectors of the legitimacy of narrative, the reciter is accountable to the iwi for the conformity of correctness
- comprise elements of performativity (they are enacted)
- consist of meanings within meanings: guide the enactment of whanaungatanga – inter/intra association
- they underpin the structure of iwi cultural traditions

Protecting the validity of Tūpuna Narratives

The significance of Tūpuna narratives cannot be underscored, theorising and describing the conceptual characteristics of the practice is important and so too is their protection. Repeating, enacting and recounting narratives is an important mode of protecting the narratives of Tūpuna why? Because they are the containers embedded with codes of tradition and mores, in this manner, they are passed onto future generations.

Language matters, it is the key conduit of narrative the privileged medium that contains and conveys meaning, epistemology and cultural socialisation practices (Hall, 1997, p.4). Currently, there are many modes of acquiring language, the development of technological applications is noted by Granados “as the silver bullet” holding the old and the new together (2019).

I do not intend to describe the methods and modes of conveyance and or the revitalisation efforts of Te Reo that is underway in Aotearoa. but to ground this discussion in the need to preserve the performative-traditional-practices, the cultural practices that enable Tūpuna Narratives. In this manner, we protect and preserve the validity, the authenticity of the legitimacy of the practice as a whole.

Language and narrative practices do not operate in a vacuum there is a relationship between language-culture-tūpuna narrative there is a connectedness between these phenomena.

Who we are is shaped by who we were: Māori pass socialisation lessons, interventions, histography and whakapapa through narrative practices. These important formative performances are essential they perpetuate the cultural and social worldviews, mores and principles, tikanga, language, customs and practices of iwi. Repeated over time in the manner of tūpuna narrative kōrerorero, they become traditions they transform into mores, principles are established and become solidified in the lived behaviours and actions by the iwi members and their communities. Stories form narratives, according to Bamberg (2012), "stories are also important, when 'told' repetitively, they underpin the socialisation process, for teaching life values and conformity to a specific group" (p.101).

As such children become both a receptacle and conduit of specific cultural information traditions and mores: through this process they are socialised as unique cultural beings. This narration embeds the learnings. In his study based on analysing narrative practices, Bamberg found that "isolated self-disclosures of past events were not enough they have to be tied together, narratives recited in childhood are the source of where social and individual identity starts" (Bamberg, 2012, p.102) to this I would add group identity.

In chapters six and seven, I discuss how Tūpuna Narratives as cultural representations insert difference: the understanding and acceptance of difference. As symbolic practices, they give meaning and expression to the idea of belonging to national culture. "They are therefore symbolic practices that give meaning to a thing rather than a thing having meaning in itself. Because of the close relationship between culture and language we need to attach more emphasis on 'culture learning,' of impregnating the dominant culture in a process of cross-colonisation Byram, in (Zou, 2013, p.146). The main emphasis of this study is to protect and revitalise the culture in this manner it's signifiers such as language, symbol narrative and story are protected. Contextualised by whakapapa Tūpuna Narratives are windows into the culture, politics and the social life of an iwi, they

symbolise an occurrence, a phenomenon, an experience incident or event. "Narrative concepts are not simply a body of theory but a set of political circumstances that speak from a place of change" (Hall, 1996, p.31) "its primary role is to communicate information and meaning, "a product of culture, on the other hand, narrative determines and constructs culture" (Griffin and Devereaux, 2013, p.2).

According to Halverson, Corman, & Goodall (2013, p. 12), "narratives contain a system of stories, they display distinct patterns that commence with a conflict-crisis situation and end in an accomplishment or the attainment of a goal usually political or ideological. Narrative requires a definition of a key central character: their actions, what they did in sequential order, there is a coherent system of interrelated and sequentially organised stories that share a common rhetorical desire to resolve conflict along an agreed to trajectory. Systematically arranged the sum is greater than its parts." These then are the essential elements of tūpuna narratives on which this study is premised. What I want to produce is a composition of a system of storys each a building block creating levels or layers of meaning where interweaving themes and plots are incorporated into one cohesive, consistent whole: this is where 'story' end and tūpuna narrative begins.

Tūpuna narratives are transmitted by iwi they are the multi-layered, multi-textual forms of communicative media and method of communicating. They are the intervening substances, the multilayered rich representations through which impressions, knowledges and information is stored, conveyed, and transmitted (Josselson & Lieblich, 2010). This study draws on the narratives of Te Keepa (Te Tuhioterangi) Raharuhi specifically his evidences before the Native Land Court. His narratives link the past and present they were passed on, handed down from his father Te Taurangi Hoani Raharuhi. Narratives provide the storylines of whakapapa.

2.1.4 Authoritative narrator

Given that 'iwi' and 'Ngāti Koi' are the focus of this study: as a starting point it is important to provide a definition of the meaning of the two terms. Iwi are kin-

based arrangements comprised of hapū and whānau. Hapū are made up of whānau. Iwi is referred to as a nation, a tribe, they descend from a common-eponymous ancestor. Central to this study are the narratives of Tetuhioterangi (Te Keepa Raharuhi). The great-grandfather of the writer. Te Keepa as rangatira of Ngāti Koi was acknowledged as the expert on the history of Ngāti Tara and Ngāti Tokanui. He gave evidence in both Te Reo Māori and English to the Native Land Court over a period of nearly 30 years and gave extensive evidence over many years, Hauraki iwi acknowledged Te Keepa as the person to give the history of Ngāti Tara Tokanui, Ngamarama and Ngāti Koi.

Te Keepa was also consulted by Māori of other iwi about the proper boundaries of the land. Throughout the time Te Keepa gave evidence his version of the history remains essentially the same. The same key events in the history of Ngāti Tara are given, and the same tūpuna and ahi kā evidence is presented. Whakapapa extending back to waka is narrated. Te Keepa, along with Hapi Rewi, Hoera Te Mimiha, Timiuha Taiwhakaea, Harawira and others were able to give detailed and consistent accounts of the history of Ngāti Tara and Ngāti Tokanui. They were rangatira-esteemed elders of the tribe and Te Keepa was the overall chief (Bassett & Kay, 2001, p.45).

Te Keepa was probably born around 1823 and lived until 1908, his life spans the key period of social, cultural and economic change wrought by colonisation (Basset Kay, 2001, p.42). It is important, writes the noted historian Oliver “that both the pace and the extent of change be kept in mind, together they constitute a complete revolution, political, social and economic affecting the whole of life. The period 1840-1910 is long enough for the major consequences of colonisation to become evident, it is also brief enough to indicate something of its concentrated impact” of the transfer and implanting of British social and cultural structures, the obliteration of Ngāti Koi social and cultural structures (in Basset Kay, 2001, p.12).

Born at Takahaere Pā in Paeroa, Te Keepa lived in the middle of these 'major transformations.' He personally played a key role in the opening of the Ohinemuri goldfield and he encouraged Pākehā settlement. He then witnessed the reduction

of the land base of his people, the breakdown of traditional relationships, the desecration of key geographical markers, the cyanide poisoning of the Ohinemuri River.

These matters, more fully explored within the methodology chapter, are raised in this section as a point of emphasis that this thesis is about whānau and iwi, it is organic at its core because it is a study of tūpuna of people, their resources and their narratives.

2.1.5 Narrative theory: a western story

As an academic theory 'narrative study' is drawn from the conceptual framework of Cultural Studies a multi-discipline field of inquiry. According to Barker, "'cultural studies' cannot be said to be 'anything' it is not linguistics, literary studies, it is not sociology although it draws on these subject areas it affiliates itself with social and political movements. It operates from the basis that knowledge is never a neutral or objective phenomenon it is a matter of positionality, that is, it identifies the place that one speaks from, to whom and for what purpose" (Barker, 1999, p. 141).

Different to story narrative structure consists of plotlines, it eschews the structured format of story. Schiff (2012) proposes that narrative in its broadest connotation is the act of telling, narrating or showing subjective experience…in such a way narrative becomes the study of expressive acts rather than well structured, clearly bounded narrative plotlines (p. 10). Listening, being listened to, speaking, showing and telling, reciting and recounting, gazing on to interpret-infer and deduce, reflecting, explaining and describing occupy a significant percentage of human day to day activity, they represent, more or less, the prerequisite features of narrative, narration and narrativity as subdomains of within the theory field of narratology (Christian Meiester, 2013, p. 10).

According to Bamberg "narrative is a discursive schema it is located within local, individual and broader contexts underpinned by culturally-driven rules and conventions" (Bamberg, 2007, p.174). Understanding narratives as "discursive action is particularly relevant to practices that place an emphasis on social

interchange" (Phillips, 2016). As such narratives are lodged within relationships, appropriated by individuals for use in various contexts, they become major levers for change. Narrative identity is a relatively new field of research. In his attempt to form a historical context of the development of narrative Herman (2009) painstakingly retraced the steps of the notable theorists concluding that "Ferdinand de Saussure's 'structural linguistics' was responsible for the uncoupling of the narrative from theories of the novel, shifting scholarly attention away from [perceiving narrative as] a particular genre of literary writing to all discourse, creating what is now known as the 'narrative turn'" (Herman, 2009, p.24). Prince proposes Narratology is the science of narrative, or the theory of narrative (Prince, 2003, p.1). Narratology studies certain objects called narratives; [what they are composed of], "what they have in common, how they differ from one another" (Prince, 2011) "the ways that narrative structures our perception of both cultural artefacts and the world around us" (Herman, 2007), (Currie, 2010).

In an attempt to qualify narratology Todorov inferred that "narratology is more than a theory, while it may not have lived up to the scientistic pretension expressed in its invocation as a new science of narrative, it does qualify as a discipline" (Todorov, 1969, p.10). As a discipline, it has a defined domain, explicit models and theories, a distinct descriptive terminology, its methodological tools are transparent and analytical. Narratology is the theory of narrative (Prince, 1995, p.110) (Nunning, 2003, pp, 227-28). This positioning allows other theories of narrative to coexist alongside narratology, therefore, the relationship between narrative theory and narratology is thus not symmetrical, but hierarchical and inclusive (Nünning & Nünning, 2002, p.19).

2.1.6 Whakapapa: the narrative of genealogy interconnectedness

According to the Online Māori Dictionary (2018) whakapapa means to lie flat, to place in layers. a taxonomic system of ordering the genealogical descent of all living things. It is applied in this study as a process of narration and its ability to contextualise the relational elements of the principle whānaungatanga. "Without this, according to Nikora whakapapa becomes a mostly abhorrent picture of genetic descent with echoes back to pictures of the evolution of humankind" (Nikora, 2007, p.346). "According to scholars Renée Hulan and Renate

Eigenbrod, oral traditions are “the means by which knowledge is reproduced, preserved and conveyed from generation to generation” (in Tonkin, 1992, p2). Indigenous and aboriginal societies record, narrativize and narrate their histories in complex and sophisticated ways, including performative practices such as dancing and drumming. In chapter four I have likened the structure of whakapapa to that of the ‘DNA’ spiral the core essence of life. Humankind would not exist without DNA, equally iwi and Māori would not exist without whakapapa. As a taxonomic database whakapapa codifies the relationships between all living and inanimate essences, humankind and object, archived within the narratives of tūpuna, moulded by the tikanga of iwi.

I have applied Roberts’ taxonomic model of whakapapa to demonstrate how a Māori worldview is holistic and cyclic, one in which every person is linked to the natural world, the environment, atua and cosmogony. Māori are interconnected through whakapapa (genealogical structure) which links te taha wairua (spiritual aspects) and te taha kikokiko (physical aspects) (Henare, 2012, p. 9).

The organizing principal inscribing the worldview of iwi and Māori is whakapapa. “Whakapapa cannot be changed, it cannot be transferred altered or modified,” it is the genealogical connectedness maintained in the order of genetic descent. It is the genetics of all life the genesis of kith and kin and is symbolised in the myriad forms of narrative (Matamua, October 2017). Whakapapa anchors this study. “A method of linking, connecting relatedness it is a process of narrated re-counting the origins of iwi from cosmogony through the narrator to link relatedness connecting tangible and intangible elements” (Nikora, 2007). It is applied in this chapter as the key principle that “underpins tikanga Māori enveloping the whole of life, it sets out the laws, principles and precepts that determine our interactions with things Māori as Māori” (Hone Tiwaewae, personal communication, 2001).

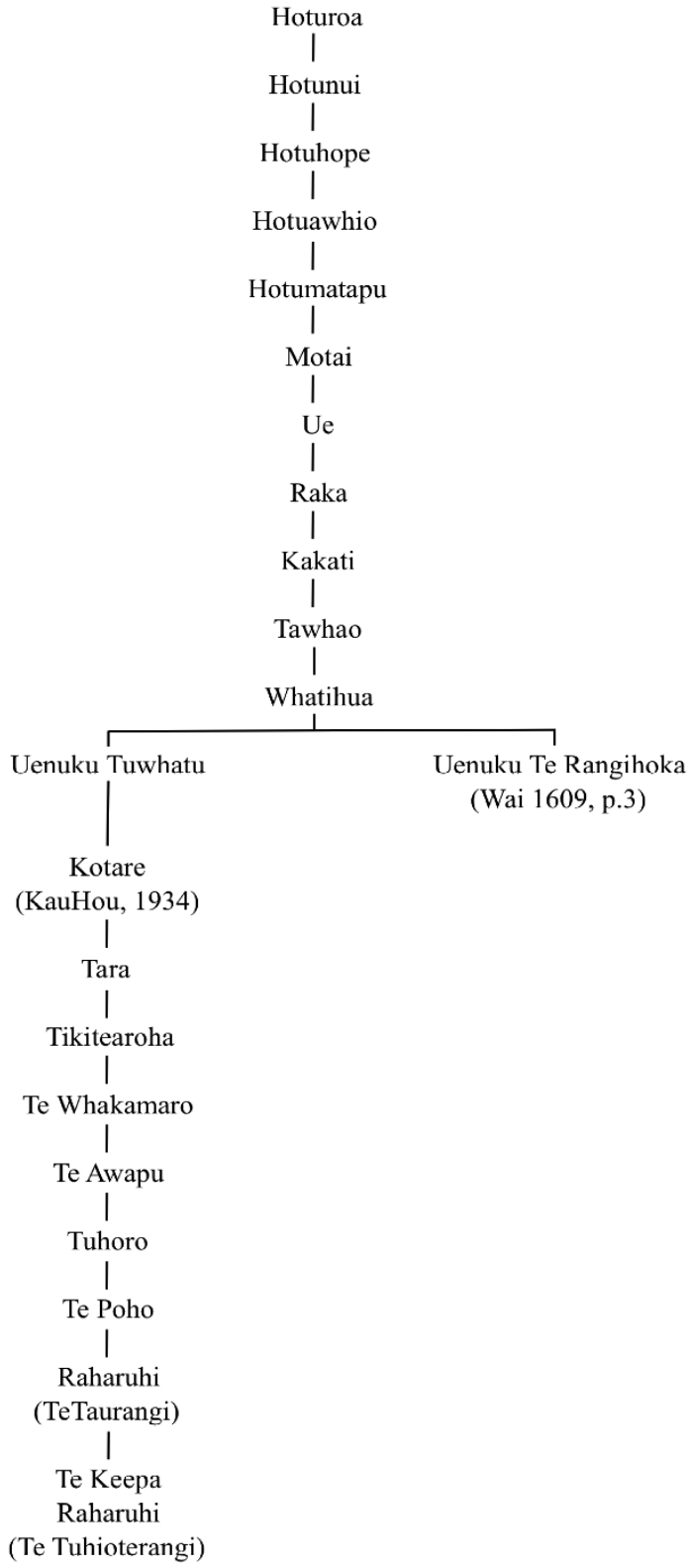
Whakapapa narrated by Te Keepa encapsulated Ngāti Koi reality it linked the whenua - land to tūpuna - people, it espouses a Māori epistemology shaped in the form of genealogical, tribal and traditional recital. They were narratives of an iwi and they accomplished their purpose of connecting individual to iwi to geography and cosmogony two hundred years after the first utterance. I draw a causal

relationship between the acculturation practices of my parents and tūpuna narrative to guide the methodological framework of this chapter "as a way of understanding the world we live in" (Bryman, 2012, p. 8). Narratives are based on features from the past that are relevant to the present and future, they have redeeming restorative qualities that are transferable to the human narrator. Iwi tūpuna narratives are about meaning; they organise and make sense of they add to our understanding of complex historical moments. There are narrative forms for all situations, it is not the intention to recall and examine these in detail, what I am seeking to provide is an understanding of narrative forms contextualised by whakapapa.

Ngāti Koi /Ngāti Tara are named after the chief, Tara, who led them to Hauraki, from their Ngāti Raukawa home in the Waikato. Describing his relationship to Ngāti Koi Te Keepa referred to Ngāti 'Koi' and Ngāti Tara as interchangeable terms for the same group of people descended from the eponymous tūpuna Tara (Raharuhi, 1870, p.60, p.234). In modern times Ngāti Koi is the name of the hapū and refers to the descendants of Tara through his son Tiki Te Aroha.

Over-time they intermarried with the Ngāti Tokanui. This was explicitly stated by Rihitoto Mataia in 1878 'those that have sprung from Tara are called Ngāti Koi and those from Tokanui, Ngāti Tokanui' (Mataia, 1894, p205). When it came to proving land rights the distinction between land which had been occupied by Tara and that which had been occupied by Tokanui and his descendants was always maintained. The ancestor Tokanui descends from Ngamarama (Raharuhi, 1870, p.66). Ngāti Tokanui, therefore, is quite distinct in terms of genealogy from Ngāti Tara. However, a key marriage alliance between Ngāti Tara and Ngāti Tokanui meant that the two separate descent groups came to form one social and political unit under the mana of Tara" (Ibid. p. 228), (Bassett & Kay, 2001, p.22) (Belgrave and Young, 2013, p.1).

The following whakapapa by Te Keepa Raharuhi demonstrates his connectedness to the eponymous tūpuna Tara and the ancestral lines of Ngāti Tara Tokanui.

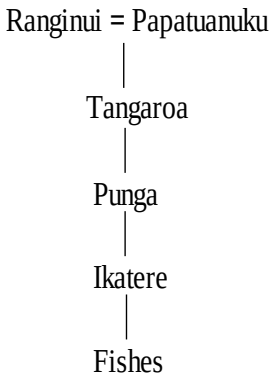


Whakapapa 1: Ancestral lines narrated by Te Keepa Raharuhi

Narratives underpin and transform Māori-iwi identity practices. For Ngāti Koi "transformation evolved out of an organic community as a deliberate means to comprehend…and transform the crises" related to the silencing of iwi tūpuna epistemologies, knowledges and culture as a result of colonisation (Smith, 2002, p.27). The reciting of whakapapa is a key critical kaupapa Māori narrative strategy: it involves a complex arrangement of conscientisation, resistance and transformative praxis which collectively seek to transform crises relating to iwi cultural identity (Smith, 2002).

Whakapapa has formed the basis for many scholarly studies; Te Rito (1997) examined whakapapa as identity, Metge (1964) 'belongingness,' Thomas, & Nikora, (1994) investigated its application to issues of identification.' Ranginui Walker's 'whakapapa methodology' is a quintessential example of Māori epistemology for it links "creation to all living things in an evolution of progression" (Walker, 1990, p.10).

In similar manner, Robert's examination of whakapapa explicates the principle exemplified by Walker that "all things are related in whakapapa they are classified according to their 'perceived' celestial origins and relationships to other species and phenomenon." (Walker, 1990). In her study on the 'Genealogy of the Sacred,' Mere Roberts sets out "the whakapapa of plants and animals which typically commence with the primal parents, Ranginui (sky father) Papatūānuku (earth mother) and their many offspring to humankind. Two of their children Tangaroa and Tāne-Mahuta represent spiritual and environmental realms within which Māori trace their whakapapa to the natural world" (Roberts, 2012, 93).



Whakapapa 2: Natural world

From Roberts' model we see how "whakapapa as a layering method links all things in the cosmological and natural worlds from the beginning of creation to the present time" (Roberts, 2012, p.94).

2.2 Narrative narration

Narrative identity theory has been applied to every sphere of human endeavour it is drawn upon by a wide range of disciplines in the medical, biological, and human sciences, applied globally across nationalities, groups and organizations the specific applications are as wide as human experience can know. Gergen & Gergen concur with this perspective, taking a social-constructivist trajectory they conclude that narratives are discursive actions as such they derive their significance from the way in which they are employed within relationships. Narration plays a critical role within our relationships, making us intelligible to each other, bringing us into consensus, allowing disagreement. (Gergen & Gergen, 1988, p.140).

The placing of the resonance and tone over the moral is equally important and can be strategically positioned to produce a specific result this is defined by Cronon as the narrative arc where "the closing scene of the narrative has to be different from the opening it must contain a restorative, transformative value" (Cronon, 1992, 32). My reading of Cronon is that the narrative arc exemplifies praxis: it identifies progress from conscientisation through to transformative change.

According to Kovack, published stories have become the standardised versions, the secular work of methodological academics; the artistic imagination has been polarized in print and the relationships between the tellers of stories and the listeners, “the visual references to the natural world are lost in translation.” The communal context of performance, gesture, intonation – even the best translations are scripted reductions of the rich oral nuance sitting in the now of story these can never be captured through the research transcription. (Kovack, 2009).

In the following passages, I describe the narrations of whakapapa by our mother Rose Te Okeroa. To guide this discussion, I apply Koven’s framework for analysing the speaker ‘inhabitance’ in narratives. According to Koven (2012), the storyteller must negotiate “at least two speaker roles: the narrator (of the narrating event) and as a character (in the narrated event) that capture and record the minute intonations, reflections,” nuances, the cadences, tone, tenor, body and facial language, consistency of delivery of the narrative recital (Koven, 2002, p.168). Koven’s analysis is salient as it provides an understanding of how listeners respond, they provide clues of how Māori are-able-to faultlessly recall the myriad of names of the deep past.

They were names our mother recited over her lifetime. Thinking back and utilising these modes of practice I and my brothers and sisters were able to recall the whakapapa of Reha KauHou like the notes on a musical score, ‘after careful prompting’ we too were able to recite the names she chanted throughout our childhood.

From an early age and to the time of her passing our mother Rose Te Okeroa was the narrator of our iwi whakapapa. She descended from an era described by Pihama as the “beaten generation.” She did not attend school, she falteringly spoke English, she could not write (Pihama, 2001, p. 6). Extensively trained in whakapapa and steeped in iwi traditions from early childhood she was able to recite iwi whakapapa of 430 names: from the journeying ancestors of the Tainui waka to the generations of her children including the children of her siblings and first cousins.

Her narrations were always contextualised by an event, a person, a place, a house. She recalls “we were dying many had TB (Tuberculosis) spitting into their tin mugs. “Reha knew we were dying every one had to be included, iwi members descending from the key ancestor's Tara Tokanui and Marama were named and entered. But the cost for Ngāti Koi remained within the whakapapa of the iwi, “something had to be done. Great communal graves were dug at the back of Ngahutoitoi Marae to bury the many dead from the flu epidemic. Considered a Tohunga we were all scared of Reha, Mum would tell me not to touch him. He was very old when he did the whakapapa, he was a young child when he was told by Te Mimiha who protected us and went to the Native Land Court with Keepa. They would all come; old Reha and Kaumātua (name of an elder) Hori and Waata and they would come to Reremoka and from the other iwi to make sure ‘we’ had it right (Rose Te Okeroa, 2001).

Whakapapa didn’t hold the tapu it did today. When I was a ‘child’ they did the whakapapa on the kitchen table on brown paper from the railway. They would sit around the table and eat their kai while they did the whakapapa. The kōrero went on to the next day they would sleep where they sat, those who had too, went to work. As I got older, I had to make them mugs of tea sit under the table: listen and repeat the names. I wouldn’t go back to school … that [pokokohua] would beat me on my legs over and over for talking Māori. But uncle Hori went up and fixed him, I never went back.” (Rose Te Okeroa, Wai 714, June 2001).

Over the next few paragraphs are an interpretation of the recitals of whakapapa by our mother. I bring her recital to this work to demonstrate the ‘heart and soul’ of narrative as whakapapa. Throughout her narrating her body positioning changed, as well as the speed, rhythm, cadence, emphasis, volume and pitch of her words. She varied how softly, loudly she used her voice, space-time and gaze. As Thompson puts it “this is seen as interpretation, and interpretation is the key to life practice this is not the end of the narrative recital story, but simply the beginning because narrative practices are used explicitly to teach” (Thompson, 2018).

We are silent as we follow her faultless renditions from the written whakapapa: ream after ream, word for word, syllable for syllable, name for name, from ancestress and tūpuna to iwi-to hapū-to whānau-to family-to individual. The cadence and meter of her voice reflect a particular epoch where significant times of change occurred against a backdrop of destruction, poisoning of our iwi from the crown's gold mining, the first iwi encounters with colonisation and the forced wanderings of iwi. Recorded wāhi tapu, urupā the sacred iwi places, also recorded are intoned from the time of Te Poho to Te Keepa her voice taking on a quivering tangi like quality. Her pain is tangible carried in her voice, eyes downcast, her breathing slow and from the depths of her soul, the tonal inflexions commingle with the last syllable of the previous name at times repeated in a quick 'staccato' like fashion. At certain tūpuna her hands would return to the table caressing the name, her eyebrows knitted in deep empathy she caresses assuaging the sadness she feels. She pauses and then moves to the next and the next as the recall of names are intoned in that timeless reverential soliloquy of whakapapa.

As young adults, we were dubious of 'her recitals' here was our mum who could not read English texts yet, here she was reciting many, many, names of the long distant past, some of the names composed of more than 4 syllables. We knew to be silent or we would miss the subtle changes softening syllables denoting; a change in either the lines of descent, the crossover of generations, a shift from the single to multilateral lines, the mana and timeframe of the tūpuna. At certain times she would use another word for our tūpuna and when asked 'why' she could not answer "that was 'what' I felt at the time" she would say. And to our constant questioning of how do you remember so many names and stories she would reply "it is easier to remember than words I see them like a Kahikatea, a Miro, the branches, the sprigs, the fallen leaves and blossoms, they must all be remembered for they came from that tree." (Williams, 2000). In her senior years, her narrations of the whakapapa bring back the vivid recollections of tūpuna who have passed on long before 'she' was born.

For Kavanagh, "older adults are given privileged positions within a group where dependence on [narrative] transmission is high, they have a further role of

guarding the society's values and the belief systems upon which a culture rests" (Kavanagh, 2000).

2.2.1 The importance of kaumātua

Within current iwi, Māori society kaumātua (elder Māori adults) are important narrators of tūpuna narratives and iwi whakapapa they largely accommodate much of the role of the 19th-century rangatira**.** Held in high esteem they are identified for their "mōhiotanga, mātauranga" (Walker, 1990). Their life experiences and knowledges they have accumulated over many years, they are sought out to provide and qualify opinions to bring a historical context, "mentoring" (Irwin, 1994) for a kaupapa (agenda, topic, theme or subject) at hand, "they are critical for the survival of tribal mana" (Durie, 1999).

In a survey of 400 kaumātua aged 60 years and over, Durie (1995a) found that kaumātua (Māori elders) live active lives, physically, socially and culturally. Similar findings emerged from Te Hoe Nuku Roa a longitudinal study developed by Durie "fundamental to this project was establishing what exactly a Māori identity was. There are validated concerns of specific elements within Te Hoe Nuku Roa such as Nikora's critique of utilising 'whānau access to whenua tipu' as a critical marker of Māori cultural identity" (Durie, 1999, p.105). According to Nikora, if access is measured by ownership and or beneficiary status, the Waitangi Tribunal unequivocally find, that as a result of Native Land Court actions, only 56% of Māori have access to or are beneficiaries of Māori owned land. This criterion would eliminate a large portion of Māori. However, Nikora agrees with the key outcome of the report which is the centrality of kaumātua and their importance to Māori cultural identity as the protector and conduit of Māori cultural history" (Nikora, 2007).

2.2.2 Whānaungatanga: narratives of connectedness

Whānaungatanga are kinship related practices embedding the strengthening of family and whānau relationships through the narration of shared experiences, of working together engendering a sense of belonging (OMD, 2018). The principle of 'whakawhānaungatanga' is utilised within this study as a method of narrating connectedness and relationality of all things. These contexts are not static or fixed

but dynamic and close-ended, they are ongoing due to being constantly contested, redefined and reshaped by 'particular' socio-cultural actors, and, or agents throughout history (Pahmi Winter, personal communication, 1999). This principle can be described as the method of practising whakapapa. "It espouses the connectedness of all things it names, links and identifies iwi in bonds of association and reciprocal obligations. As a process it is concerned with everything about relationships within and between kin [and non-kin members], through kinship ties it affirms yet transcends tribal relationships" (Ritchie in Nikora, 2007: 79).

The following is a pepeha, it is utilised as a whakawhānaungatanga linking practice to identify who I am and where I come from:-

> Kō Te Aroha me Moehau nga Maunga (Te Aroha and Moehau are the names of the mountains that define the rohe of my tribe). Kō Ohinemuri te awa (Ohinemuri is the name of the river that flows through the heart of our iwi rohe), Kō Tikapa te Moana (Tikapa is the name of the sea the Ohinemuri River flows into and connects me to the sea) Kō Ngahutoitoi te marae (Ngahutoitoi is the tribal home of our iwi, it holds the cultural taonga of our iwi, it is the place we stand and talk – our turangawaewae) Kō Tara te tangata (Tara is the eponymous ancestor of our iwi), Kō Ngāti Tara Tokanui toku iwi (Ngāti Tara Tokanui are the names of our tribe).

Iwi narratives are not limited to written forms they are oral, pictorial, recordings, etched, tattooed, carved and painted. In her treatise on storying and indigenous methodologies, Koven (2009) emphasises the need to "preserve the integrity of oral stories and how these are lost when oral stories are adapted into written forms" (Kovach, 2009). "Can we ever bring the full nuance of the oral tradition into Western academia? Not likely states First Nations author Gerald Vizenor (1994) "holistic knowing is lost when stories are not delivered orally, so much is lost in translation" (p.161). How do we assimilate narrative understanding at a conceptual level that does not return to a modernist framework of treating the various research reports as "facts" but rather to treat them as situated interpretations? How do situated interpretations apply to iwi? Each iwi and hapū

grouping have their own sets of tikanga-laws, laws which are established through narratives handed down through their generations. Each iwi responds and interprets and narrates their cultural, social and life circumstances differently, they change and adapt mores, social and cultural traditions according to their contexts and historical experiences (Josselson & Lieblich, 2010).

Whakawhānaungatanga practices are important political tools, they are powerful narratives of identity that protect the whakapapa, the manawhenua of iwi in a legal situation.

These may include evidence provided to the Māori Land Court, a Waitangi Tribunal Hearing or submitting to a local resource consent process and or a complex legal hearing in the Environment Court. These institutional processes require a 'whakapapa' based discussion pertinent to the matters at hand. The following extracts set out examples of how tūpuna narratives are applied in a modern era. The first is a submission, prepared by the writer, objecting to the granting of a resource consent for the establishment of a wind farm on the outskirts of south Paeroa.

> Maunga River and Awa define the landscape they are connected to, they hold the cultural and spiritual essences of iwi identity. For these reasons Karangahake Maunga is discussed within this submission: at 532m Karangahake Maunga presides over important urupā, pa, wāhi tapu, traditional kainga and nohonga established for over a millennium by Ngāti Tara Tokanui iwi. Within its purview are Mimitu Pa, Ngahutoitoi Marae, Te Iwi Moa. These are important cultural markers that form the identity of Ngāti Tara Tokanui iwi.
>
> For Ngāti Tara Tokanui: Karangahake Maunga, contextualises the landscape deriving its name from Tunohopane the 'hunchbacked' younger brother of Tara the eponymous ancestor of Ngāti Koi, Ngāti Tara Tokanui. Tunohopane was physically deformed in the shape of a hunchback his features etched on the tihi (top) of the maunga (Bassett & Kay, 2001, p.14) failing to return home after snaring birds, scouts were dispatched for many days they called and called his name eventually they found him wounded on the banks of Waiwawa River. (White, p.41). (Bassett & Kay, p. 44). Tunohopane is interned in the limestone

> cave above the confluence of the Waitawheta and Ohinemuri Rivers. When viewed from the encircling walking tracks the Maunga takes on the shape of a hunchback: for Ngāti Tara Tokanui this is the likeness of Tunohopane now Atua - the protector and guardian of Karangahake Maunga and all that it influences (Rose Williams). Ancient walking tracks carved out of sheer rock cliffs to form what is now State Highway 2 the main access route between Paeroa, Tauranga and the eastern seaboard.
>
> Important iwi urupā are found at the base of Karangahake Maunga these are in range of the activities to be undertaken by New Talisman. Mangawhio, Perewhakaputiaia and Kotangitangi these are urupā related to Owharoa - Karangahake.
> Whakapapa is a narrative tradition, both in its narrated form and the storylines it produces. Setting out the important places for the iwi Te Keepa Raharuhi narrated the importance of Karangahake (HMB No 5, p.127) these included iwi sites of significance: commencing at "Whatiaua, a stream, to Ohinemuri, Taumararua, Karangahake, Whakapukautahi, Tokapapa, Wahaoteura, Otara, Papakauwau, Ngapuketuru, Mangapouri, Matariki, Waiohau, Opaataka (on Otamaurunganui)," (Bassett & Kay p.42, 66). In analysing impacts on historic, sacred, and archaeological sites, the primary concern is that no permanent harm should be done that would affect the integrity of the whakapapa-based relationship of iwi to whenua. As a way of protecting these sites, strategic planning is undertaken within Ngāti Tara Tokanui iwi alongside government agencies to protect key mana-whenua sites. In a modern context, whakapapa circumscribes iwi associations-relationships-connectedness to the whenua, moana, intra iwi, through the naming traditions of Take Taunaha it demonstrates the relatedness of maunga to iwi.

This second example discusses an application by Ngāti Tara Tokanui for a Marine Application before the High Court of New Zealand:-

> The Ohinemuri River is our tūpuna (ancestor), endowed with mana and tikanga, it represents the mauri of our iwi. A single indissoluble being it defines the land and scape that surrounds it for many miles. The daughter (hine), of the chief Te Muri who failed to return home after bathing in the River. The 'O'hine is the pained cry of Te Muri calling for his daughter

> (Williams, Ngāti Tara Tokanui Marine and Coastal Application, 2017, p.3).

In his evidence for the Waitangi Tribunal Charlie Papa, on behalf of Waikato Tainui, recounted connectedness of his tribe to the Waikato River:

> The Waikato River is our tūpuna (ancestor) which has mana (spiritual authority and power) and in turn, represents the mana and mauri (life force) of Waikato-Tainui. The Waikato River is a single indivisible being that flows from Te Taheke Hukahuka to Te Puuaha o Waikato (the mouth) and includes its waters, banks and beds…substratum as well as its metaphysical being (Papa, Wai 2653, 2017, p.10).

Storylines are the constituent elements of narrative, whakapapa provides the context, the associations, it links and binds narrative. As a taxonomic model it classifies and names, it orders the relationships and modes of descent, from cosmogony-to ancestor-to tūpuna- to present-day iwi Māori (individuals) to whānau – extended nuclear families: connected through blood and kinship arrangements, hapū - whānau groupings, and iwi – hapū groupings, the geography, the elements that comprise Papatūānuku and Rangitane.

Tracing the use of narrow blade tools and the art of tattooing throughout the Pacific Te Awekotuku, Nikora & Rua (2004) discuss the influence of Lapita artforms on Māori 'mau moko' "proposing that the first Māori migrations ensued from the Lapita peoples over 3000 years ago" (p.10).

Migration for Ngāti Tara Tokanui iwi was completed around the mid-1500s. "Tara was living in the Waikato on the eastern side of Maungatautari, at Taumaihi Pa … he decided to leave Taumaihi Pa and led his followers eventually settling in Hauraki…" (Raharuhi, 1896, p.63). The migration story of Tara has been interpreted by Ngāti Tara Tokanui in numerous artistic and narrative mediums. For example, the pattern designed for the cover of the iwi sites of significance project it tells the story of the migrations of the key iwi ancestors to Hauraki. The artist Dr Peter Boyd utilises the structure of a tukutuku panel to bring the

constituent parts together to form a unified whole, the tukutuku panel represents whakapapa which underpins the whole of life. Represented within the mural as the continuation of whakapapa the narrative illustration depicts the first journeys of the tūpuna Tara. Entitled ‘sacred journeys’ the mural interweaves the arrival of the Tainui waka and the ancestress Marama through to the ‘modern’ migrations undertaken by the iwi.

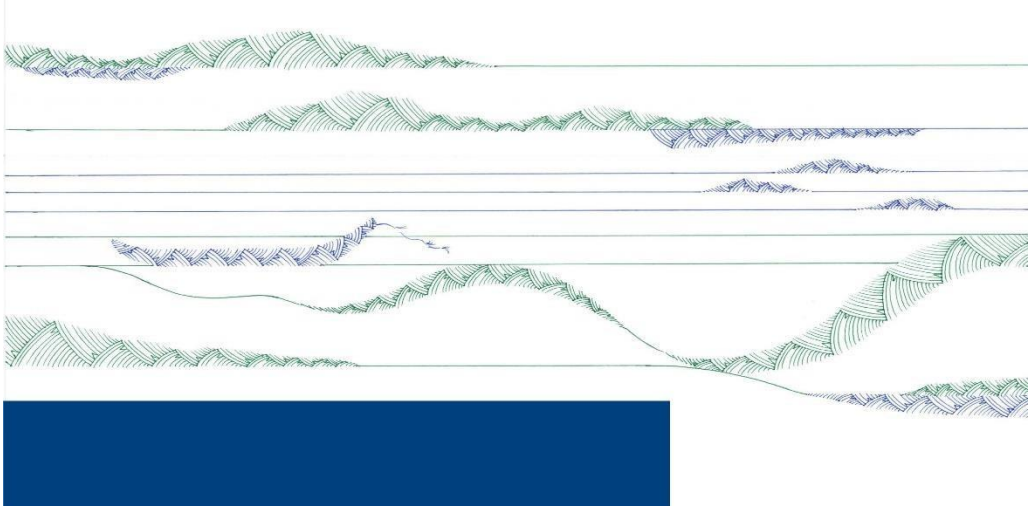


Figure 1.1: Migration narrative as a pictorial form

The epic migration from Maungatautari Maunga is depicted by the blue downwards facing triangles which represent ‘the before time’ homeland maunga, now in the past. The backwards-facing waka represent the migrations of iwi commencing with the first journeys across the Pacific Ocean. Symbolised by the Takahe the stroke designs named ‘waewae tapu’ portray the pointed beak and feet of the Takahe to symbolise the theme of an ongoing journey. A flightless bird, endemic to Aotearoa, it is noted for its resilience and ‘the’ distances it is able to cover in a short period of time. The three upraised shapes at the top right of the mural are the sacred maunga: Te Aroha, Moehau and Karangahake. The ribbon lines arrayed along the bottom are the two sacred awa (rivers) of our iwi Ohinemuri and Waihou

The epic journey of the tūpuna Tara is further represented in pūrākau (stories) mōteatea (poems), kowhaiwhai (painted mural). Histories are remembered, restored and repaired through narrative. Given the multifaceted modes of

representation, tūpuna narrative study is an important part of New Zealand scholarship.

2.2.3 Mau-Moko: narrative as intervention

Iwi narratives are expressed in a myriad of ways they are ‘inscribed’ on as many types of mediums and modes of production that the human experience can know. There are no limitations to the type, the design and the mediums upon which iwi narratives are inscribed; the assemblage is vast. Mediums may include human skin, wood, paper, parchment, rock, steel, water, cave, stone, glass and whare. Narratives provide exemplars of positive role models a socialisation agent they instil values and morals. The story of Mataora and mau moko-Māori tattoo is a celebrated Māori artform and grand narrative. Culturally it is claimed by many iwi each have their narratives of its origins and proprietorship. An artform is an interpretation combining personal and Māori cultural narratives etched onto the skin surface. According to iwi pūrākau ta moko has cosmological origins, as a narrative, its inception represents a journey of praxis as change and transformation. In their book, ‘Mau Moko’ Ngahuia Te Awekotuku and Linda Waimarire Nikora apply the concept of narrative to demonstrate how mau moko as a metaphysical legacy was transposed through history as a celebrated iwi cultural arrangement. Their book, replete with historical images is a rich and definitive illustration of narrative as Māori Mau Moko - Māori Tattoo.

“Mataora beat his wife Niwareka, unbeknown to Mataora, Niwareka’s father was an atua. As atonement for his behaviour, which included a period of confinement, remorse and conscientisation, Mataora promised to change his ways renouncing violence and ‘violence to women’ convinced of his remorse Uetonga etched Tā Moko onto Mataora’s face importantly he gave him the skills of Tā Moko for the future generations of Māori. After a period of time, both he and Niwareka returned from the underworld. Niwareka bringing the art of weaving and Mataora: Tā Moko” (Mead, 2003).

2.2.4 Narrativizing a story of colonisation

Mau moko constitutes both an intervention and a grand narrative for the following reasons. It exemplifies change at a personal and societal level. Its constituent

elements affected change at a level of praxis; conflict led to conscientisation resulting in the mau moko of Mataora, there is a universal acceptance by iwi groupings and Māori that mau moko existed before human time and was transposed 'into' history from a metaphysical and or a cosmological being (Te Awekotuku & Nikora, 2008). As a traditional (cultural) practice the storied narrative of Mataora demonstrates how tūpuna narratives, as a way of socialising and enculturating change, become a system of meaning-making as powerful exemplars of change codified by cosmogony. However, traditional cultural ways of narrative practices are on the verge of obliteration. The colonisation of New Zealand obliterated Māori epistemological practices, embedding the learning structures of a 'western' education system.

Colonisation suppresses tūpuna narratives, memory, and voices. In both its scope and brutality colonisation of Aotearoa remains vastly different from all other conflicts experienced by Māori. Incorrectly applied by certain historians as a "one-off act 1840-1910" (Gibbons, 2002). What marks it out as different was the "short sharpness of time it took to embed, the naturalisation' and 'adaptation' by Māori to the permanent invasion of settler culture on New Zealand" (Oliver in Bassett & Kay, 2001). Settler culture is the philosophy of violent invasion and expropriation exacted through the ethos 'by whatever means necessary' and its terms of reference validating its rightness to maintain invisibility are underpinned by the ideological-political and the cultural sovereign authority of England's Crown.

Studies that fail to take into account how Māori epistemological practices directly relate to the individual, iwi and Māori perpetuate the narrated injustices of colonisation in that manner they are seriously flawed, at best they are misleading. Currently, there are many reports completed by public institutions and private individuals relating to the prevalence of violence in Māori communities.

Seeking to find answers to some of these perplexing issues I draw on a study relating to 'Intimate Partner Violence 'IPV' conducted by Marie, Fergusson and Boden (2008). Their findings resulted from a study of several paper-based research reports: the key reference document was the Christchurch Health and

Development Study (CHDS) a longitudinal study conducted over a period of 25 years. “This study set out to document patterns of IPV victimisation and perpetration among study participants, examine the relationship between ethnic status (Māori/non-Māori) and patterns of IPV victimisation and perpetration and explore the extent to which ethnic differences in IPV could be explained by socio-economic factors,” childhood factors and variations in cultural identity” (Marie, Fergusson & Boden, 2008 p.129) The general aims of the ‘Marie’ (2009) study was to examine statistical links between ethnic status and IPV and to evaluate various explanations of these links.

Their key findings recommended that “based on the extent to which ethnic asymmetry in IPV relates to Māori cultural identity, as it pertains to the theory of colonisation, the research found that the strength of cultural identity including level of affiliation to cultural domains was not supported by the data”. In their view “socio-economic disparity” as propounded by Feldman and Ridley (1995), the social deprivation factors (report conducted by the Ministry of Social Development), and the deficit childhood socialisation theory, these factors alone produce IPV” (p.3).

These consequences are regarded as a major contributing factor to the high rates of IPV within the Māori population” (p.86). Grossberg reminds us of the political problematics of culture-based studies. “Culture as an attempt to respond to the inability of existing paradigms of knowledge production is limited in that it fails to address and bring understandings of the nature and forces of contemporary social change. A second problem is its political refusal of theories that assume a simple oppression between domination and subjugation.” A rethink of the process of domination is required in terms of experience, consciousness and subjectivity because studies that take note of the above are conjunctural they provide a critical basis to analyse the ongoing prevalence of colonisation (Grossberg, 2015).

Utilising kaupapa Māori research methods King, Young-Hauser, Li, Rua, & Nikora (p.87, 2012), Koziol-McLain, Rameka, Giddings, Fyfe, and Gardiner (2007), Durie (1995) and Pihama, Jenkins and Middleton (2002), concur that “in contemporary New Zealand the pervasive impact of colonisation has resulted in

immense socio-economic disadvantage for Māori. These consequences are regarded as a major contributing factor to the high rates of IPV within the Māori population" (p.86) a view is supported by Durie (1995), Pihama, Jenkins & Middleton, (2002).

2.2.5 The Native Land Court: Writing the erasure

The key institutional instrument that enabled the successive occupation of 19th century Aotearoa was the Native Land Court. This institution was the recorder, collator, archivist, purveyor and as an institutional agent became the owner of iwi narratives. It was premised on iwi narratives without these 'it' would not have existed. Equally one could assume that "without the Native Land Court, New Zealand may not be as blessed" as the likes of Boast (2017) would lead us to believe. But we don't know that. Māori did not have a choice as to how and where to archive their recorded history other than the walls of the wharenui, the tree and cave, the mountainside, the safe sanctums of the memories of tūpuna.

"The creation of the Waitangi Tribunal is seen as an important step taken to redress Māori grievances. Established under the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 it makes recommendations on claims brought by Māori relating to legislation, policies actions of the Crown that allege to breach promises, actions or omissions of the Crown. As a permanent Commission of Inquiry, the majority of iwi and historical evidence brought before the Tribunal origins from the narratives of tūpuna.

As Gilling notes "there are disadvantages the process grinds slow and small" (Gilling, 1994, 25), this study is not so much about commentating the shortfalls of the process and administrative procedures of the Tribunal it is about how an iwi was empowered because of the very shortfalls of its approach. The Crown's approach to settlements is to deal with large 'main' groupings with whom it will settle. This 'first up best dressed' impulse according to Wainwright is the Crowns approach to deal with large natural groupings, to deal with the groups least knocked around by the colonial process, the ones who tended to have the resources, and generally to be able to front a Treaty Negotiation. The groups further back in the process ran the risk of getting to the starting line after groups

better prepared had had the picking." In the matter, the Ngāti Whatua Settlements Wainwright and her colleagues worked tirelessly to change issues of cross-claimants however, in the case of Ngāti Koi the matters relating to those set out in this chapter, remain (Wainwright, 2016, p 58).

The Native Land Court the Waitangi Tribunal, the Treaty of Waitangi settlements are institutional sites where iwi cultural, social and political discourses are performed and constructed, where meanings are made, contested, and deconstructed (Hanrahan, 2012). The purveyors, archivists, composers of iwi narratives "'they' are discursive domains that maintain the hegemonic norms that continue to lock iwi in marginalized, subordinate class positions to their Pākehā and multi-racial counterparts" (Byrnes, 2002, p.2) (Barker, 1999, p.141). These institutions perpetuate Pākehā domination of Māori through the recobbled narratives, the witness statements, provided by iwi in the Native Land Court and reproduced for the Waitangi Tribunal and Treaty Settlements process.

In summary: colonisers create colonisation as such they come to stay, settler-colonial invasion is an imposed structure it is not an act, or an event, settler colonialism persists in the ongoing elimination of indigenous populations they do not stop colonial allegiance (British settlers) to the metropole (England) it abolishes difference in the form of an unchallenged state and people. This is not a drive to decolonise but rather an attempt to eliminate the challenges posed by the indigenous peoples by [silencing tūpuna narratives] nullifying the experiences of the indigenous and asserting false narratives and structures of settler belonging (Barker & Lowman, 2015). When we consider the actions of Mataora, mau moko was the catalyst for transformative praxis. As a symbolic form of representation and narrative mau moko was relevant for primordial Māori it is equally relevant for Māori in modern contexts.

2.3 Narrative interpretive theory: Critical kaupapa Māori

Critical kaupapa Māori (Smith, 1997) is applied because a study based on the world of iwi Māori must begin and end with an interpretive method of how they [Māori] interpret, translate and understand their world to be (Geertz, 1973). By arguing for interpretivist values of 'knowledge' scholars of critical kaupapa

Māori, narrativity and auto-ethnography ‘dislodge’ ‘western’ academic traditions and assert iwi academic practices. To gain a clear understanding of the historical social, cultural and political realities produced through the narratives of Ngāti Koi tūpuna I chose an ethnographic approach within a critical kaupapa Māori conceptual framework to enable a critical interpretive approach. This is due largely to meeting the praxis objectives of this study which are critical in their intent and interpretive in their methodology.

The tikanga-ethic implicit within whānaungatanga infers that as autoethnographers we no longer act as individuals, we remain accountable, we have responsibilities to the iwi/hapū to whom the story belongs for we tell a story within a story, a narrative that derives from others.

2.3.1 Auto-ethnography, positionality

Auto-ethnographical is a genre of narrative writing and research that connects the personal to the cultural by placing the self within a social-cultural context and within a historical timeframe (Reed-Dunahay 1997 in Holt 2003, p.2). It is an approach that seeks to describe and systematically analyse personal experience to understand cultural experiences. That said, why is it that I continue to question my self-worth, to put self/my tūpuna at the centre of this study. On the other hand, why is it that I must refer myself in the third person when this is ‘my’ story, the story of tūpuna long passed, and how can I enable their voices within an academic setting? Why have I included the story about me within the prologue section appended outside ‘not quite inside’ of the thesis proper? Why am I haunted by a foreboding sense that to write about myself cannot be counted as academic, intellectual scholarship? Pathak (2010) explicates the ways in which this is “the false binary of belief. “That knowledge is either of the body (experiential/anecdotal) or, of the mind (intellectual/abstracted), and that scholars of colour engaging in research about identity and women engaging in research about sexuality, is ultimately not “real” research’ yet, at the same time are called as field ‘experts’ on specific issues because their ‘embodied’ experiences are ‘valued” (p.10). “This is a double bind in that the scholar of colour is both hyper-racialized (gendered, sexuality) and completely erased at the same time” (ibid. p.10). For scholars, such as I, who come from both sides of the ethnic paradigm

born Māori-living European, our motives, commitment, our acceptance to things ‘real Māori’ is continually questioned.

Over the last two decades ‘positioning’ has become an established concept used to elucidate how identities are deployed and negotiated in narratives. “What we know about the theory of enunciation is that there is no enunciation without positionality you have to position yourself ‘somewhere’ in order to say anything at all. Because according to Hall “there is no way that people of the world can come in from the margins and talk, can begin to reflect on their experience unless they come from someplace, to honour the hidden histories from which they come, to understand the languages they have not been taught to speak, to understand and revalue the traditions and inheritances of cultural expression and creativity” (Hall, 1989, p. 19).

For the autoethnographer, it demands that the story be told not only of a person who is an example of the world but of a person who exists within a larger world, someone who is part and parcel of a larger story (bell-hooks, 1994; Visweswaran, 1994). Therefore, the childhood themes reproduced for this study are the stories of my family, they originate from the injustices of colonisation, perpetrated on Ngāti Koi reflected through the lives of my parents, my family my whānau hapū and iwi. In this manner the story is larger than the writer, it encompasses iwi it is the story of Ngāti Koi therefore, it belongs to them (Pathak, 2010). ‘Positioning’ is an important aspect of academic scholarship, it is a way of keeping familial relationships within scholastic studies on an objective and transparent level. This is a story positioning the writer within a wider story of iwi, configured by the narrative of the “colonisation of Aotearoa” (Belgrave & Young, 1991; Ward, 1974; Owens, 1981; Belich, 1987; Orange, 1987; Walker, 1990). As an indigenous writer my identity, my sense of being is strongly connected with place, it positions the location of this text not only geographically, but politically and culturally. If narrative enacts the epistemological position that no research is neutral “all research is written from somewhere, and that somewhere matters,” if the word indigenous means people of a place, then from the perspective of this study that place is home and this study is an indigenous place of writing (Thompson, 2016). By utilising the theories and methodologies of critical kaupapa

Māori ‘the traditional western voice is dislodged from its place of historical paramountcy enabling the normalisation, validation, the legitimacy of Māori conceptual approaches. It is within these liminal spaces that I speak in ‘first voice’ as:

- Māori, a member of an iwi,
- an indigenous scholar,
- a woman of colour living within a ‘colonised’ society.

‘That’ I arrive at this study ‘positioned’ is a dialectical issue fraught with contradiction. My ‘worldview’ is marred by an explicit enculturation agenda of a colonising agent which focussed on the obliteration of; iwi cultural memory, the silencing of iwi voices, the rejection and annihilation of Te Ao Māori. The antithesis of the outcomes of this study. I am a Māori scholar producing a study on iwi praxis: I will make observations, collect, analyse and interpret that information to draw conclusions about the world based on those initial observations.

In this regard kaupapa Māori

- gives context and meaning to my voice in ways that have never been articulated,
- autoethnography gives reality to my voice: it authenticates my world it legitimates my being as an iwi scholar, a scholar of colour
- critical kaupapa Māori gives my voice a place in the world of the future.

Having said that, I am mindful of my Christian upbringing and the impact this may or may not have on this study. I have been trained in “western social sciences to consider that the absence of my personal voice is the most legitimate form of knowledge” (Pathak, 2010, p.3).

On the other hand, I am continually pushed to examine the falsity of this belief, for without those childhood early adult experiences I would have come to this study taking a different journey guided by a map vacant of those markers such as subjugation, continual pauperisation, colonisation, praxis, mana-motuhake, tūpuna narrative (ibid. 2010, p.2).

“Critical self-reflection is an important tool for the researcher caught in between socialisation, learned understandings, and the professionalism created by study, the personal life history: the realities of lived society.” This, according to Josselson and Lieblich, is the nature of narrative study it takes the researcher into places many would not venture (Josselson & Lieblich, 2010).

Kaumātua support, cultural supervision was vital to this professional journey and my personal wellbeing. By the mid-stages of writing this thesis both of our parents had sadly passed away, thankfully I was able to draw on our mother’s strength, guidance and support to ensure the validity of translations of tūpuna narrative and whakapapa recorded in te reo Māori (the language of Māori). Much of the translation work had been completed as part of the Ngāti Koi Waitangi Tribunal claim. However, there were passages, belatedly retrieved, that missed the scrutineering hand of Ngāti Koi kaumātua. Aunty Lil, our mother's sister now fulfils the role of matriarch for me my family and whānau, Ngāti Koi.

Aunty Nancye Gage provides the role of mentor and teacher particularly relating to matters of iwi tikanga I draw most deeply on her expertise, ‘knowledge’s’ of Ngāti Koi her strength and guidance. Cultural mentoring “over-turns the narcissistic tendencies inherent within autoethnography” it hushes the dominant voices of scientistic, imperial positivism, importantly, it places the matter of iwi revitalisation high on the agenda of anti-colonial/decolonising strategies (Pathak 2010, p.9).

2.3.2 Narrative: socialisation, identity

In their innovative work on narrative, identity and cultural policy, Griffin and Devereaux (2013) juxtapose stories as narratives each coalescing as the building blocks of identity itself: “they are the way we give meaning to and make sense of who we are and what we are in relation to the rest of existence. That the concept of story and its relationship with narrative can be understood very simply as it implies a particular structure as a means for conveying what is told” (Griffin and Devereaux, 2013). As a form of discourse “narrative structure is discursive in

nature: it is the way in which we organize, account for, give meaning to and understand that is, give structure and coherence to the circumstances and events in our lives" (Herman, 2009, p.213). Anderson reiterates this theme describing narrative as "the way we give meaning to organizing, arranging, making sense of our experiences in our everyday lives" (Anderson, 1997). It has a wide range of applications across multiple platforms and mediums and as such its characterizing features set it as a subdomain within narratology, social and cultural identity theory. However, questions of the cogency between story and narrative continue to absorb the academic community. In the absence of methodological discussion to disentangle the causal relations between features of stories and narrative, there is a growing trend to intermesh these concepts as a means of integrating the reconstructed past (McAdams and McLean, 2013, p.5).

Distinguishing between story and narrative is important for this study, childhood stories are a part of the 'building identity project' (ibid. p.102) Not limited to social skill construction they are the place where cultural group identity is formed. They construct the social world of the child into cultural symbolic forms, codes and representations. Importantly, 'narrative' contributes to a wider role in that they become political motivators: they are catalysts enabling people to undertake revolutionary actions. Learning identity is not confined to childhood, it is a lifelong journey. In the case of Ngāti Koi, it was not until our senior years that through tūpuna narrative we discovered another iwi identity, that we were known by another name, and that this name ushered in new understandings of our identity. It placed our origins at a different time and place and our iwi whakapapa was begat from a 'matriarch' as well as a 'tangata' both of high esteem.

Narratives serve the purpose of passing along and hand down culturally shared values so that individuals learn to position their values and actions in relation to established and shared categories and in doing so engage in their own formation process as a person. (Bamberg, 2012, p.119). Functioning to position a sense of self in relation to culturally shared values and existing normative discourses, narrative discourse claims a special status in the business of identity construction (ibid, 2012, p.103).

2.4 Story, Narrative, Grand Narrative

Structurally there are distinctive differences between story and narrative, according to Hagel, storys are closed and a narrative is just a story that is open-ended yet to be resolved: once the story is resolved both the narrative and story is, over. To some extent Hagel is correct, however, a story can remain open-ended such as the story of colonisation. The historian Oliver claims colonisation was a 'one-off act' a singular event, this would classify colonisation as story (Oliver, in Bassett & Kay, 2001). The British arrived in Aotearoa, they settled-colonised, end of story. For Ngāti Koi and Māori, colonisation is open, not ended, ongoing it affects the whole of life resolving into a larger more open-ended narrative of colonisation (Hagel, 2016).

There is a story of creation, the myth of Papa and Rangi, the legend of Tāne-mahuta, the legend of Maui. Widely published myth and legend were perceived as the sole indices of Māori scholarly practice: they have become a key feature of New Zealand's 'official' literary archive. "The dominant tone in Māori studies in New Zealand up until about 1925 was a preoccupation with material culture, traditional history, mythology and Polynesian origins" (Boast, 2017).

While story holds relevance for narrative study the first two provide enjoyable reading they add to the richness of cultural genre, however, given their association with 'tale and fable' there is a possibility for Māori epistemological practices to slide into fiction-imaginary yarn without theoretical academic value (Pathak, 2010). The interplay between narrative and story is weighty. Over time scholars have utilised the concept of story, within their work, however, for some 'story and storying' carries negative connotations (Pathak, 2010). By linking story to narrative carries with the possibility of derailing the narrative endeavour as an academic study. And because weight is given to narrative, its importance to Māori and iwi places the concept of identity into the basket of lore, legend, fiction.

Drawing the distinctions between story and narrative is not just academic 'nit-picking'– fastidious criticism. One of the thorny questions of identity is whether there is a distinction between narrative and story, over time narrative' in its many forms and derivatives has been aligned with 'mere storytelling,' myth and legend.

Indeed, psychoanalytic, poststructuralist and cultural analysts alike continue to debate the value of narrative as a scholastic endeavour. For some ‘social’ scholars the concept of narrative is perceived as story, storying, storytelling (Anderson, 1997; Bamberg, 2009; Jannidis, 2009; Herman, 2009; Currie, 2010; Goodson, 2012; Griffin and Devereaux, 2013). Orally transmitted reinforces the view that iwi epistemology is confined to something oral: recounted by word of mouth its ‘truths’ as changeable as the teller, forgettable: they are remembered for as long as the story is spun. “By association indigenous and tūpuna narrative practice ‘become’ little more than ‘mere storytelling’ ‘orally transmitted’ they are relegated to the fictional realms of myth and legend-making. This reinforces understandings that iwi epistemology is confined to something oral: recounted by word of mouth its ‘truths’ as changeable, unpredictable as the event narrated” (Pathak, 2010, p.3).

This view impacts the narrative project as a whole drawing into question its underpinning principles, its forms of communication, the epistemological framework of iwi all are questioned reinforcing the notion that iwi philosophy: kaupapa Māori is mere folklore void of conceptual academic value. “Critics wary of oral history tend to frame the practices of ‘oral history’ as subjective and biased in comparison to ‘writing’s’ presumed rationality and objectivity” (McAdams, 2007, p.20). With the ‘advent’ of narrative and the now vast troupe of supporting international ‘indigenous’ and ‘western’ theorists, such as (Cruikshank, 1998, Kovach, 2009, Tonkin, 1992, Josselson and Lieblich, Pratt, Cohler and Thorne in McAdams, 2007) whose works are strongly influenced by life story construction in the context of ‘everyday talk’ as cultural discourses: the ‘opinion’ that narrative holds little theoretical substance, is challenged” (McAdams, 2007, p.22).

2.4.1 Story

Storylines are the constituent elements of narrative; a story is a sequence of related events that are situated in the past and recounted for rhetorical/ideological purposes. Stories are arrayed to support and buttress the narrative in a systematic and organised manner. Micro-level stories are told to someone about something, narrative invites listener participation. Over time Māori scholars have emphasised the role of story in their work, from the position of this thesis Māori narrative

epistemologies are contextual, relational in structure, purpose and design to tell a story we miss the many stories that comprise narrative, this practice condemns the Māori researcher into receiving partial knowledge, into the position of being told, unwittingly the role of the teller, of the whole, is delegated to another.

2.4.2 Grand (Master narratives)

For writers such as Halverson, "there are stories, narratives and there are master narratives. It would be simple, as some authors have opted to do, to make a pragmatic distinction between story and narrative, however, according to (in Halverson, Corman, and Goodall (2011) narrative is a conceptual framework" and as such the craft requires a critical exploration (p.10). One may ask, why expend so much time, effort and energy on a concept that has its origins in storytelling? The term narrative is a contested concept, often used interchangeably with story, its meaning has become imprecise. However, as the author of a study based on narrative and because I intend to reclaim tūpuna narratives: in this chapter I set out why narratives matter and to clarify the relationship between story and narrative.

Master narrative is a term coined by Lyotard the French philosopher to describe the metadiscourses of modernity that have provided ideologies with a legitimating philosophy of history. Examples are the grand narratives of enlightenment, democracy, Marxism, communism examples of grand narratives for Māori are Matariki, creation, migrations. Halverson's work exemplifies "grand narrative as being embedded in a culture, as providing a pattern for cultural and social life, as producing a framework for communication and adapted for certain situations (Halverson, et al.,., 2011, p.14). Like all narratives, grand narratives consist of story forms, narratives and archetypes that can be used to understand their structure and purpose. But why is it that grand narratives carry such potency that they can change the identity practices of an iwi, what are the factors that iwi connect with when they engage with narrative?

For Halverson et al. (2011) grand narratives are important because they embed both political and social ideology. "They 'grow up' to attain that stature over time through repetition and reverence within a particular culture" (p.12). There is a

clearly defined sequence from originating author, for example, the originator of the formula for praxis was Hegel – this was adapted by Engels and Marx – its Hegelian form institutionalised by Lenin – Max Adorno & Theodore Horkheimer critiqued the practices of Lenin and Hitler. Subsequent work such as this study utilises the approaches of Horkheimer and Adorno to continually build knowledge refining the process of praxis.

Narratives harness the fullness of a common cultural practice. They are buttressed by religion and 'worship-revering' practices they create messiah i.e. Allah, Jesus Christ. They adhere to a common 'official' language protected by law and constitution. From their work on Muslim extremism, Halverson et al. (2011) identified that "Muslim audiences connect to grand narratives because they contain powerful persuasive messages that compel a certain level of ideological (philosophical, political, religious, cultural) identification. They maintain a common language, inspire behaviour, mores and actions, they become accepted across continents" (p.109). Narratives know no political, geographical or social boundary, carried by digital electronics, word of mouth they are translatable to any clime and ethnic group: in this manner, they become the chief tool of a coloniser, invader culture. I apply the key themes of grand narrative identified by Halverson and compare these across 5 nations.

Table 2.1: Comparing: Grand narratives by nation-state

Nation	Religion	Tūpuna Deity	Common Language	Common Grand Narratives
Iwi Māori 598,605 Māori Descent 668, 724	Christian Ringatū Ratana 45,177 Māori Christian No Religion 46.3%	Jesus Christ " " "	English 21.3% (125,352) speak Te Reo (NZ statistics, 2013)	Migration Matariki Māori Astronomy Cosmogony Creation Maui Whakapapa

England	Christian	Jesus Christ	English (official) language of England,	King James Version of Bible Colonisation Royalty Camelot Robin Hood
Yemen Saudi Arabia Syria Nigeria Egypt Iran Mauritania Angola +120 constitutions (By Largest Populations EW Research Centre)	Muslim “ “ “ “ “ “ “ “	Allah “ “ “ “ “ “ “ “	Arabic liturgical (Official language)	Pharaoh (despised rulers) Hajj Makkah Mecca Pilgrimage Battle of Badr:(false nationalist categories) Shaytan:(Likening of America to Satan Nakba (vigilance against enemies) Seventy-Two Virgins:(cause) terrorism (Halverson, et al., 2011, pp.110-124).
India	Hinduism (74%)	Shiva	Sanskrit (Official language)	Ishta-devata (worship) Humility harmony Karma Reincarnation

The findings within the above table infers that countries that exhibit praxis are those that maintain common grand narratives as characterised by a unique religion, common tūpuna, common unique grand narratives a common script, a common unique language. This study concludes that an absence of one or more of the above elements signifies that the strength of cultural identity, including levels of affiliation to cultural domains, are substantially weak, it indicates a nation that is colonised by another.

2.4.3 Pitfalls narrative

However, there are pitfalls to narrative and narrative study in that it poses difficult problems for the ‘iwi’ (used in the sense of a singular individual that affiliates to an iwi) academic. Narratives can be silenced or changed. Iwi can exist for many

centuries, for a lifetime: socially and politically determined by false narratives deriving from a falsified whakapapa a process which silenced Ngāti Koi iwi for many centuries discussed in chapter 6, section 2 titled Mackay. “When we/’they’ write about our iwi history, we divide the causal, the fundamental relationships intra iwi with that rhetorical razor that defines included and excluded, relevant and irrelevant, empowered and disempowered. In the act of separating story from non-story, we wield the most powerful, yet dangerous tool of the narrative form. Because narratives are powerful, whatever its overt purpose, it cannot avoid a covert exercise of power: it inevitably sanctions while silencing others” (Cronon, 1992, p.1354). Western scholarship places paramountcy on the written word and textual based practices as the dominant form of communication. Authorship of written documents tend to be received automatically as authorities on their subjects and what is written down is taken as fact. Such assumptions ignore the fact that authors of written documents bring their own experiences agendas and biases to their work - that is, they too are subjective (Tonkin, 1992).

Over time iwi narratives have been relegated to fiction and fable (Lee, 2009), this classification needs to be understood in the wider context of ongoing colonisation of Aotearoa and Māori. That these false perceptions prevail is due ‘largely’ to the pervasive influence of western constructions the net result is the belief that Māori traditional practices are premised on myth, legend and fiction. “This belief system borne through the mists of time materialized as scientific imperialism espoused by the likes of Sadler, Gobineau, Descartes and Kant entrenching the view that western knowledge is scientific, universal and true[..]reinforcing dominant white male, colonialist ideology” (Pathak, 2010, p.3).

Powerful narratives reconstruct common sense, making the contingent seem determined and artificial, natural. “This poses difficulties for the ‘iwi’ scholar as it is precisely these opaque borderlands betwixt artificial and natural that are the investigative frontiers of the iwi academic researcher.” Through its principles of whakapapa and whānaungatanga, critical kaupapa Māori provides the conceptual framework cutting through this miasma, these are the matters I discuss in the next chapter on Kaupapa Māori (Cronon, 1992, p. 1355).

2.5 The conclusions and findings of this chapter

In this chapter on tūpuna narratives, I have answered the key components of the question of this study which is what are tūpuna narratives and how do they inform iwi praxis? I have taken a kaupapa Māori conceptual approach to discover my topic and how tūpuna narratives become the windows into the culture, politics and social life of an iwi. Conceptualised in a myriad of forms narratives symbolise an occurrence, a phenomenon, an experience incident or event.

Drawing on kaupapa Māori and tauiwi conceptual approaches in this chapter I have tested the veracity of tūpuna narrative as a theory, a methodology and intervention strategy achieving praxis. The results of the findings are markedly clear 'tūpuna narrative practices create the conditions of praxis' which is the transformative change and revitalisation of iwi identity practices. The outstanding feature of Tūpuna narratives is that they link and bind us to our past which is not something to be discarded and or overwritten as the past provides the material, the structures, the experiences, traditions and mores that form the ideological, moral and epistemological foundations of present-day iwi. As a linking concept, it is the resonance between the way narratives make meaning and how these are interwoven with iwi experiences that makes them so powerful.

This point is clearly set out by Josselson and Lieblich (2007) who state that,

> "narratives extend us beyond the remit of our present reality in that they become a powerful reality-constructing tool… acting [my word] at a personal and societal level between people forcing change and transformation to occur through rethinking - the narrated articulation of the elements of 'society' which emerge through social contradiction and conflict, and of the narrating as re-describing the social order" (p.10).

In this manner tūpuna narratives, become the catalysts of conscientisation enabling the transformation of iwi cultural identity.

A highlight of the chapter was the findings relating to the narrational methods of kaumātua and the establishment of the authenticity and validity of tūpuna

narrative voices. Currently the works of tauiwi theorists - historical commentators dominate New Zealand's historiographic archive their work has taken paramountcy. By engaging with history through the voices of iwi tūpuna we create a space for scholarship that is authentic because it narrates the lived experience of the teller, in so doing we create a space for Māori scholarship establishing epistemology that is of the iwi and by the iwi – Māori.

As reflected by this chapter, this work, places paramountcy on the voices of iwi tūpuna, kaumātua: their importance to the narrative project cannot be underscored, they are the narrators who through narration bring the 'long ago past' into the present. Authentic tūpuna narrators; recreate in most graphic forms a past before colonisation, they are acknowledged for their narrative expertise, their experiences are drawn on for their integrity and consistency of memory recall. Their lives spanned the time prior to and over the period of settlement and colonisation of Aotearoa by the British. In this study, I have drawn on the narratives of Te Keepa Raharuhi who gave prolific accounts of the history of Ngāti Koi prior to colonisation.

The first-hand narration of whakapapa by kaumātua-tūpuna endowed with the skills of narratology is unparalleled. In this chapter I have recalled the narrative practices of our mother: her narrations painting vivid depictions of the many descendants from the Tainui waka to herself and onwards to the grandchildren of her siblings. It is not until I analyse aspects of her narration to understand that she was encoding the methods of imprinting and recalling whakapapa, in this manner narrative moved from storying to conceptual, theoretic methodologies worthy of academic scholarship at its highest level.

In section 2, I examine the interplay between story and narrative and their structural association with Māori epistemological practices. Over time scholars have tended to emphasise story in their work as a result story has taken prominence placing narrative in the invidious position of 'epistemological other.' While story holds relevance for narrative study they are associated with 'tale and fable,' myth and legend these associations can inadvertently derail Māori epistemological practices by reinforcing the view that the narrative practices of

iwi and Māori are nothing more than story, without theoretical value (Pathak, 2010, p.1). These concerns are countered and dismissed by a number of indigenous and tauiwi scholars, however, further work is required to establish narrative study as a conceptual field in-its-own right. These matters are discussed in the context of kaupapa Māori and ethnography to demask how the continued undermining of Māori institutional practices – tūpuna narrative practices are hegemonic practices designed to maintain the cultural, political and social subordination of iwi Māori.

In section 4 of this chapter, I explore the legend of Mataora and the origins of 'Ta Moko' as a scholastic analytical tool to understand the prevalence of certain phenomenon in modern-day Māori society. I take the stance that research conducted 'on' Māori must inhere from Māori experiences - world view. Research relating to Māori and based solely on statistical inference, conducted in the confines of a laboratory' are no longer defendable they do not represent a research community.

Colonisation represents a break in Narrative, a recasting of the unique characters, the supplanting of the essential elements that compose Narrative. The key finding for this chapter is the ongoing persistence of colonisation affecting and shaping Māori at both an iwi-collective and individual level, if we are to dismantle the structures of colonisation substantial kaupapa based, tūpuna narrative informed research approaches are required. This ensures that the wider political, socio-cultural oppression of Māori as it relates to colonisation will be factored and Māori methodologies will continually be refined as counter-hegemonic tools.

To that initial question of this chapter, do narratives matter? From the examples discussed within this chapter tūpuna narratives matter, they are important catalysts encoded with the formulae of conscientisation and iwi identity transformation. These aspects of narrative practice and their ability to create praxian change are the matters of the next chapter titled Critical Kaupapa Māori.

Chapter Three

Critical Kaupapa Māori: The praxis of narrative

Mā pango, ma whero: ka oti te māhī.
By the 'leaders' and the 'ordinary citizenry.'
The task will be completed.
(Smith, 1997, p.494)

3.1 Introduction

Any progressive study on iwi cultural identity requires a narrative approach contextualized by the theories and methodology of kaupapa Māori because this nexus creates the discursive conditions for transformative praxis and the freeing of iwi of the oppressive-subjugating 'bonds' of ongoing colonisation. At the beginning stages of this study, I realised that a robust conceptual framework was required to research the topic of this study. Taking a pragmatic approach that 'surely there was something to resurrect' my review commenced with the theories strongly imbued with the Christian teachings of my life in the 'church' such as the philosophies of the European 'enlightenment' period. Having read a number of works related to the 'hand of god' idealism of Hegel Hodgson, (2007) positivist vs anti-positivist debates reviewed by Churton & MacMillan, (2009, p.84), Ayer, (1959, p.83) the empiricism of Kantian law by Zajda, Majhanovich, & Rust, (2007, p.20) these works were all quickly discounted. The more I read it became clear that the incongruency of theories based on religion, empiricism and 'absolute laws' as a means of defining the reality of the world that I live within, are irreconcilable: 'Kantian enlightenment' was not the place to hinge this work on, link my life story and the experiences of Ngāti Koi.

Remembering back to the lectures by Miria Stirling, John Moorfield, Ted Ninnes and Pahmi Winter somehow, I knew the place for this thesis which akin to my life experiences straddled the opaque borderlands between critical anthropology, social theory and kaupapa Māori. Applying the right words to a search of the website ushered the work of Graham Hingangaroa Smith and his ground-breaking thesis (1997). I had found the conceptual keys for this study. A commentary of how I fuse the theories of critical and kaupapa based on the work of Smith is

discussed within the methodology chapter. The salience of narrative to iwi cultural identity cannot be underscored, applied in conjunction with critical kaupapa Māori and 'southern Marxism,' narrative becomes a discursive schema, "a powerful reality[de]constructing tool" demystifying the relationship between modern institutional arrangements and the nineteenth-century colonisation of New Zealand. In this chapter I have merged narrative practices and kaupapa Māori into one conceptual framework, as a result, there is the possibility that they are read as one in the same, however, they need to be understood as one within the other. What this means is that 'tūpuna narrative practice' is a framework within the conceptual constellation of kaupapa Māori: their synthesis creating the conditions for praxis, which is the revitalisation, the transformation of iwi cultural identity.

3.1.1 What this chapter is about

This chapter explores the theories relating to narrative practices and kaupapa Māori a constellation of interweaving theories, principles methodologies and epistemologies of Māori. Narratives are modes of "representation in that they transmit" kaupapa Māori as "systems of meaning" in etched, written, painted, sounds, acts and narrated forms passed from cosmogony to tūpuna to ancestor to Māori to iwi" (Hall, 1997, p.5). The terms critical and praxis are Marxist concepts as applied by Adorno and Horkheimer of the Frankfurt School. It is not the intention of this study to buttress the theories of tauiwi however, aligned with Kaupapa Māori "the concepts of 'critical' and 'praxis' are key to developing a system of theories and methodologies that both informs 'the struggle' for Māori while providing a framework capable of comparing and guiding Māori iwi transformative actions" (Smith, 1997).

Kaupapa Māori has developed into a conceptual constellation of theories, epistemology, principles, and methodologies a science of praxis it is action-oriented, it's mode of engagement and analysis is dialectical. As a dialectical practice praxis cannot exist in the heads of people as an idea, it needs acting on, saying, performing and speaking in this manner it becomes a discursive practice. This means that the establishment of 'truth' is through reasoned argument.

I provide a brief discussion comparing Hegelian and Marxist dialectics to demonstrate the key essential differences between positivist and critical sciences. An action science requires an action method. Key principles, roles and responsibilities for a decolonizing researcher are explored.

Contextualized by Freire's concept of critical education the role of a 'decolonising' researcher is the "process in which people are regarded, not as objects-recipients, but as knowing subjects. In this regard, the aim of the decolonizing researcher is not merely to inform but to initiate and co-construct and guide political action" (in Comstock, 2007, 372). I chart the journey of praxis for Ngāti Koi iwi as a Clothoid loop arrangement to understand the causal relationships that achieve a deep awareness of both the socio-historical reality which shapes their lives and their capacity to transform that reality enabling iwi mana-motuhake.

Gramsci is raised in this introductory section to ensure the principles this study is based on, are explicitly clear. This study is about how colonial institutions maintain power in New Zealand. I explore issues of culture-power and subordination through Gramsci's concept of 'cultural hegemony' as a way of understanding the ongoing acceptance by Māori of colonisation. Tūpuna narrative practices are applied to augment our understandings of how "frozen ideological conditions... [that maintain Māori, *my words*] in perpetual subjugation can be challenged, resisted and overcome (Comstock, 1997, p.4).

Tūpuna narratives provide the methodological tools, the sets of texts, the discursive environments to understand, articulate, act on and to purposively change and transform the institutional arrangements that maintain oppressive settler culture in a position of dominance. In this manner narrative becomes praxis enacted at a personal and societal level between people, "it is a powerful tool extending us to act discursively" (Josselson, 2007, p.10), demystifying the embedded myths and ideologies within colonial structures to create the conditions of transformation where Māori are enabled to oppose subordination (Barker, 1999).

These conditions according to Barker "force change and transformation through "rethinking (reflecting on) the narrated articulation of those elements of 'society' which emerge through contradiction and conflict creating the societal conditions of re-describing (acting on) to change the social order" (Barker, 1999). Praxis is the Marxist formulae for social transformation: a process this study contends that is transmitted through tūpuna narrative.

The key questions for this chapter are:

what is critical kaupapa Māori and how does this contribute to the establishment of tūpuna narratives as catalysts of praxis?
what is praxis?
what is the etymology of critical and kaupapa and how do these terms relate to praxis?
how does the study of critical kaupapa Māori assist our understandings of colonisation?
how does a study of critical kaupapa Māori benefit iwi?

3.1.2 The aim and objectives of this chapter

This chapter contributes to the overarching aim of this study which is about how tūpuna narratives created the enabling conditions of conscientisation as praxis which lead to the evoking of iwi praxis and the subsequent revitalization of Ngāti Koi iwi cultural identity. I explore how conscientisation lead to transformative action and the revitalising of extant identity practices, by Ngāti Koi to understand who they are as iwi and their collective self-reformation. This praxis of identity resulted in the transformation and change of the way in which Ngāti Koi understood their identity to be. In this regard it seeks:

- To explore the synthesis of tūpuna narrative practices with kaupapa Māori and kaupapa Māori with critical theory.
- To understand the theoretical foundations of tūpuna narrative practices to contribute to the ongoing scholastic initiatives seeking to establish narrative practices as a conceptual framework in its own right.
- To provide a methodological framework to assist iwi to demystify and commence praxis actions.

- To explore the stages of praxis to illuminate a process for iwi undertaking praxis actions

3.2 Kaupapa Māori and critical: aligning the narratives

For Smith "critical kaupapa Māori involves a complex arrangement of conscientisation, resistance and transformative praxis" under certain conditions these elements consolidate to transform the social and political crises confronting Māori (Smith, 1997, p.27). Kaupapa Māori as academic scholarship is firstly presented as 'critical' vocabulary in the work developed by Graham Hingangaroa Smith, notably his groundbreaking Doctoral thesis (1997, p.66). In this study, I apply his work to uncover the constructed character of Crown institutional decision making which ensures the continued subjugated positioning of iwi Māori exacted through hegemonic control.

I have synthesised Hingangaroa Smith's (1997) thesis work with Tuhiwai Smith's 'Decolonising Methodologies' (2012) to form critical kaupapa Māori the conceptual korowai (framework) for this study. As a methodology, the adjective 'critical' is affixed to kaupapa Māori under the conceptual principles of 'whāngai' (adopt) and 'whāriki' are applied in the sense of interweaving threads to provide a platform as a foundation, to link specific conceptual constellations within Te Ao Māori with the concept of praxis and the critical sciences adapted by Horkheimer and Adorno of the Frankfurt School. The term 'southern Marxism' is applied to demonstrate the adaptation of concepts originating in Europe with 'critical kaupapa Māori' of Aotearoa (Horkheimer, & Adorno, 1972), (Kellner, 1989), (Schmid, 2002).

3.2.1 Origins: the characteristics of 'critical'

At the heart of critical philosophy is the concept of praxis: an enduring principle it is discussed in the works of Aristotle, Kant, Heidegger, Arendt, Freire, Marx and Hingangaroa Smith. It is the application by Marx represented by the critical theories of the Frankfurt School that this study refers to. These are the critical theories specifically developed in the period immediately preceding the second world war and refer to the work of Adorno and Horkheimer the Dialectic of Enlightenment (Marx, 1947. trans. 1972). This work discusses how reason and

enlightenment (science and technology) in the contemporary era created horrific tools of destruction and death. “Culture was commodified into products of a mass-produced culture industry and democracy terminated into fascism in which the masses chose despotic and demagogic rulers” (Kellner, 1989).

The purpose of this chapter is to highlight the prominence of kaupapa Māori as a critical method of transformative praxis. “A model of revitalization change and transformation its focus is the emancipation of individuals and communities from forms of domination: this makes it a science of praxis in which action serves both as the source and validation of its theories. As a science of action, its key interest is method, this focuses on ‘how’ phenomenon can be demystified to transform the conditions of ideologically frozen understandings” that dominate iwi Māori. In this context method should not be confused with specific research techniques such as data collection, surveys, objective measurements, method is utilized as a general approach to demonstrate a ‘systematic’ way of explaining and evaluating phenomenon such as colonisation (Comstock, 2007, p.10).

The constitutive elements of New Zealand’s society, Māori and Pākehā, did not occur by accident: a happenstance by- chance act, they result from colonisation and to understand this phenomenon requires a dialectical methodology. The originator of dialectics was Georg Frederik Hegel. Born in Stuttgart Germany he was educated, deeply immersed in both the classics and literature of the ‘European Enlightenment.’ Known as the ‘father of dialectics’ he ascends a line of philosophers each credited with the establishment of ‘positivism’ as a science and ideology. The theories of positivism stand in marked contrast to critical theory this begs the question of why ‘dialectics’ and why is it included in this study?

3.2.2 Dialectics: from Hegelian mysticism to Marxian realism

The etymology of the term praxis origins from the branch of Marxist philosophy known as “‘historical materialism’ the later was adapted by Engels his friend and professional confidente to form praxis” (Stalin, 1938). In his now ‘famous’ historical statement p*hilosophers merely interpret the world the point is to change it (Marx Feuerbach, 1845)* Marx turned the philosophy of Hegel ‘on its head’ by replacing idealism with practice as action.

In the 'Afterword to the Second German Edition' of his book *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy* Marx clarifies his position "my dialectic method is not only different from the Hegelian but, its direct opposite" (Marx 1873, p.14) ... "with him it is standing on its head. It must be turned right side up again" (Marx 1873, p.15). Clear in its simplicity "confirms his turning of Hegel's formula thesis + antithesis = synthesis 'on its head' thus establishing the Marxian model of praxis as societal transformation" (Mueller, 1958).

"Coined by Marx 'praxis' has been misunderstood as something complex, foreign and impossible to understand. Added to this, recent studies have tended to articulate Marxist terms in 19th-century terminology affixing unnecessary layers of complex verbiage" (Mueller, 1958, p.411). For Crowley *"*the thrust of Marxist praxis is the transformation of subjectivity through the process of human action or labour upon an object, which is described in Marx's philosophy by the use of a revised, concretized Hegelian dialectic" (Cowley, 149261 September 2017). Unnecessarily verbose, Crowley's definition does little to enable our understanding of the distinctions between Hegelian and Marxist philosophy. Articulating praxis in clear, simple language for Comstock is critical to "turning the [iwi], group, or individual" (Comstock, 2007, p. 378)

In summary form, I outline the Marxian philosophy of praxis to highlight the key differences between the two theorists:

> Marxist materialism (the natural world *plus* the means and modes of production) opposes Hegelian idealism (mind and spirit).
> In Marx's view, the function of philosophy was not to interpret (idealise) the world, but to change it (Marx, 1845, 1888, 1972 *ad* Feuerbach),
>
> For Marx "Man and Women are the makers of their own histories" whereas Hegel believed in the 'invisible hand' (of god) notion. Marx applied dialectic to "justify" the proletarian revolution for Marx dialectics and materialism are not separate.

"Praxis is about human action and practice, it is about the material and economic forces of society from a historical perspective: the main points of Marx's theory

of *change* are summed as; " conscientisation' replaces the Hegelian notion of thesis. '*Critical reflection and change'* replace Hegel's 'antithesis.' Marx's concept of '*transformation'* replaces Hegel's 'synthesis.' This formula is based on Marx's theory of 'Historical Materialism,' "that praxis cannot exist in the minds of human beings as ideals and theories" (Ninnes, Lecture Sociological Thought 2000). Jewish philosopher Hannah Arendt concurred with Marx that Western philosophy including Hegelian dialectics "too often focused on the contemplative life, neglecting the real-life actions" (in Fry, 2016).

3.2.3 Narrating the elements of Praxis

At its simplest praxis means to 'practice' (Merriam-Webster) it is about: …putting theory into practice, putting reality into words to change ourselves and then the wider world (Values Statement: Ngāti Koi Claimant Trust). It is the political actions taken by a community – iwi to transform their historical struggles to achieve mana motuhake. Praxis is the self-conscious practice which liberates humans [Māori Iwi], from ideologically frozen conceptions of the actual and possible (Comstock, 1994, p.376). It arises from a situation of dire conflict, a life-threatening situation at a personal, a group and or iwi level (ibid. p.2).

Praxis requires a 'thesis' (an existing situation of conflict) 'an antithesis' (the situation is wrong, we must change it) 'synthesis' (the agreement and moving to transformative change), not simply 'action-reflection action' these are the processes within the cycle of praxis, praxis is born from consientisation and results in revolutionary change. It can be summed as informed action (Quinlin, 2010) "In this way, science becomes a method for self-conscious action rather than an ideology for the technocratic domination of a passive populace" (Comstock, 2010).

Praxis is not a one-off occurrence; it is ongoing for the life of the group and its members as a cyclical process of transformation and change. Works involving the study of praxis consist of a narrative re-counting, "an up to date report," of how revolutionary changes within a particular social grouping is being sustained. According to Smith (1997), this is due to the very dynamics contained within the concept of praxis itself: that is, of [iwi cultural identity] continuously being made and re-made within a cycle of critical reflection action (p.26). Activities that

espouse iwi praxis must comprise tūpuna narrative: “the aim is self-conscious practice liberates social agents [iwi] from ideologically frozen conceptions of what is actual and possible” (Comstock, 1999, p.2).

3.2.4 From Marx to Hingangaroa Smith: praxis ‘a’bridged

Smith (1997) has established what I have come to view as the most erudite conceptual framework of iwi praxis as a method, methodology, and theoretical practice. His doctoral thesis based on the praxis of kaupapa Māori is unparalleled. The following key elements of Smith’s model of iwi praxis are adopted in this study as exemplars for change they can be extrapolated as narrative guidelines across the whole of Māori society they are linked to this study to ground and contextualise the work:

1. “It is a Māori defined and organically developed intervention strategy and therefore has an immediate empathy with the group (Māori) for whom it is meant to be transformative
2. It develops change at both the culturalist and structuralist levels, that is, it deals with the liberal education agenda as well as structural concerns related to economics, ideology, and power, e.g. it engages with the economic reforms of the 1980s.
3. It connects closely with critical theory understandings and develops a theory and praxis of transformation. It has the potential for a wider application and intervention into a range of Māori crises.
4. It critiques liberal reforms and posits the need for more fundamental structural change. It critiques and extends the conscientisation, resistance, transformative praxis cycle, to emphasise transformative outcomes” (Smith, in Pihama & Southey, 2015, p.19).

3.3 The Narrative of Praxis

Then once again go again to the masses over and over again in an endless spiral, with the ideas becoming more correct, more vital and richer each time
(Mao Tse Tung in Comstock 2007)

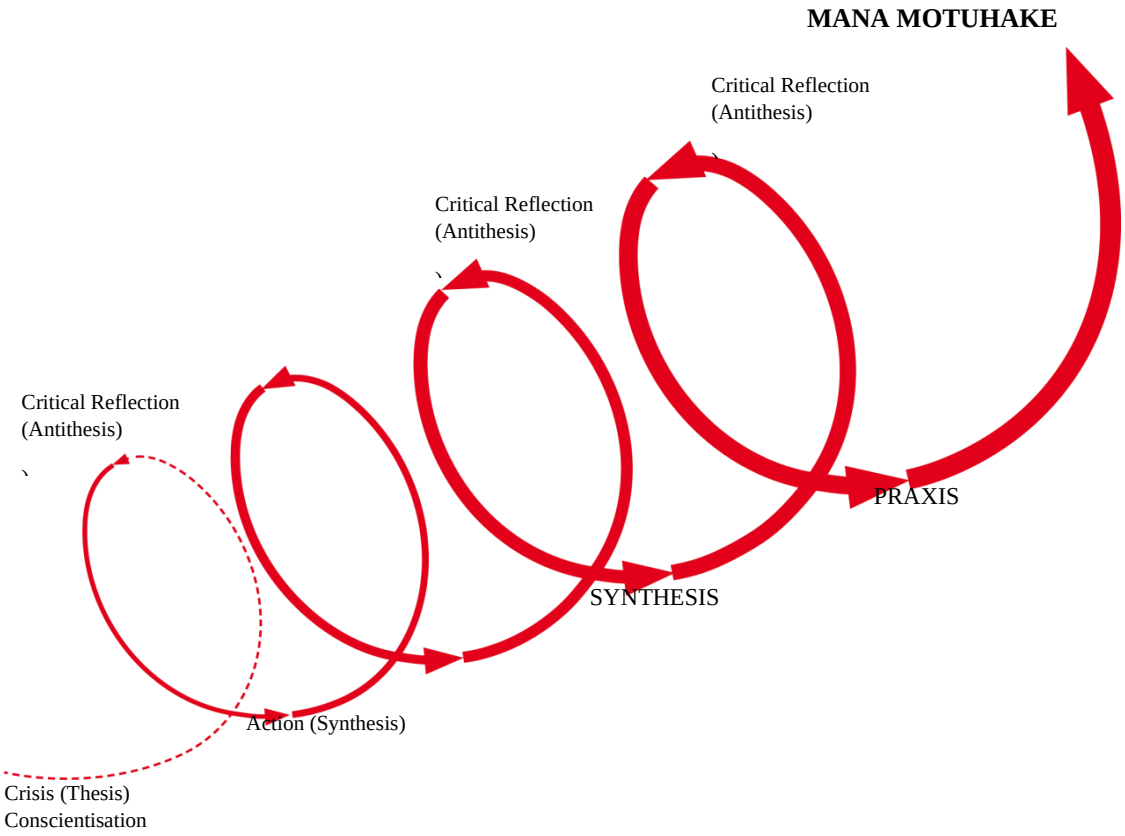


Figure 1.2: The cycles of praxis

The depiction of praxis as a looping structure origins from Dr Ted Ninnes lecturer Modern Sociological Thought, Waikato University, 1999.

3.3.1 Why have I utilized a 'clothoid loop' to elucidate praxis?

A clothoid loop arrangement is utilized to impress on the reader that praxis is a process of continual action of transformative projects over endless time. Structurally the radius of the clothoid is positioned at the 'top left of centre' this angle creates a sharp descending gradient propelling iwi to into more advanced stages of action until praxis is achieved. In dialectical terms, this radius is where

critical reflection transforms into action. As a diagrammatic model, the ‘clothoid loop’ demonstrates the workings the process of praxis in a clear and simple manner. Each stage is joined there is a sense of continuity and flow of ongoing continual achievement towards higher standards.

Recently the ‘causal loop diagram’ has new-found popularity as a model of praxis. Represented by boxed diagrams, linear line graph models, spiral circular patterns what is notable about the causal loop diagram are the breaks and discontinuities, each stage segmented. For these reasons the ‘causal loop diagram’ is not an appropriate model to describe the process method of praxis. Epitomised by break and start, it is adverse to what I am attempting to portray. Transformative praxis is continuous a whole of life process which does not end but rises to levels of intensity and excellency: progressively developing over time. Praxis projects are ongoing, beyond a single lifetime realized and enacted through succeeding generations.

3.3.2 Praxis: the narrative of Ngāti Koi

I argue in this study that the development of critical theories of iwi cultural institutions requires a critical research method (Comstock, 2007, p.370), equally we cannot be concerned with the continued focus of the development of theories isolated from political practice. What is required is an efficacious model of kaupapa based practice that resonates the narrative of tūpuna and iwi whose who lived thoroughly immersed in conceptual epistemology, tikanga and kawa long before those first footfalls of the colonizing settlers to Aotearoa.

The purpose of the following discussion is to highlight the key stages of the praxis journey and actions resolving the issues undertaken by Ngāti Koi. Comstock’s themes are appended to situate the discussion within the ‘critical’ terminology of Horkheimer (ibid, 2007, p.371).

Crisis: this is the point where Ngāti Koi “*realized that the situation could not be resolved and or legitimated through the current ideology, modes and resources available and radical cultural-structural changes needed to occur to both the social structure and the systems of knowledge and meanings” (Comstock, 2007, p.376).* Ngāti Koi recognized that their iwi cultural identity was the object of

slander and derision raising a crisis-situation: a threat to their socio-cultural identity and the likelihood of extinction was imminent. With this realization, Ngāti Koi undertook retaliatory actions by researching and acting on the 'knowledges' enshrined within the narratives of Ngāti Koi tūpuna to understand their history and social positioning and the modes of power arrayed against them.

Actions undertaken by Ngāti Koi: challenges made to the Hauraki Māori Trust Board and taking a claim to the Waitangi Tribunal.

Conscientisation: "*A new meanings system was presented and assented to. Western-scientistic ideology was put into contention guidelines of critical kaupapa Māori based possibilities are advocated. They became aware the dominant ideology is not of their making, there was a distinct cultural and ideological mismatch" (ibid. p.176).*

Actions undertaken by Ngāti Koi: KauHou whakapapa restored as a key term of reference. 1000 pages of the Native Land Court records are referenced and archived. A manawhenua report, mapping of significant iwi places, a full chronological based account of tūpuna narratives is compiled, an iwi historical and scientific report are completed.

Action, Critical Reflection, Action: "*The degree to which transformative praxis is operationalized is related to what is being experienced at a given time – versus what the community or group deem necessary to change as this has a bearing on the overall effectiveness of the campaign. Timing is critical to mobilizing strategy. Secondly: the depth of hegemony must be assessed. The third arm of hegemony is through the capital base of society (ibid. p.177).*

Action undertaken by Ngāti Koi: a registration of iwi affiliating to Ngāti Koi commences, kaumātua mortgage their home, applications to private Trusts and the Crown Forest Rental Trust for funding are approved.

Praxis: "*A pre-launch strategy noting that the appointment of a researcher is critical as the goals may not be achieved, this must be stated 'upfront' prior to commencement of praxis actions"* (Comstock, 2007, p.377).

Action: Kaumātua appoint a 'ringa raupā' the job description reads; kia mau te rangatiratanga o Ngāti Koi.

The principle of mana-motuhake is the penultimate goal of critical kaupapa Māori for it bespeaks political self-determination, sovereignty at a micro and national level. This principle, transformative praxis and iwi cultural identity are not indivisible they are mutually beneficial: they result from the actions of iwi making and remaking, revitalizing their cultural identity practices.

3.3.3 Action: A Māori scholar calls

In his thesis chapter titled 'A Call to Theory,' Smith (2003) points to the need …for the development of theoretical tools to assist …the enablement of indigenous theorizing to critically analyse why Māori remain in the grip of colonisation. He discusses the need for a strategic reinvestment for theoretical tools to assist 'their' transformation and the enablement of indigenous theorizing. Smith is not seeking validation of Kaupapa Māori theory, legitimation of iwi Māori worldview and cultural law, neither is he lamenting the loss-the lack of Māori theory 'ad nauseum.' What he is calling for is the need to develop tools to critically analyse and theorize, to develop assessment tools, to develop multi transformative strategies that realise the achievement of iwi Māori mana motuhake. This thesis indorses a praxis approach to change as the alternatives are an armed rebellion, terrorism, warfare, and the burgeoning of new forms of colonisation.

Slack maintains that "successful theorizing is not measured by exact fit, but by the ability to work with our always inadequate theories to help move our understanding a little further on down the road, in this manner successful theorizing is a living body of thought, capable of engaging and grasping something of the truth about insistent historical realities." Colonisation is one such reality, understanding how its reach influences the day to day circumstances for

iwi -Māori requires the continual development of theoretical models hybridized and tested through many ‘strands’ and indigenous schools of thought. (Slack on Hall, in Hall & Morley, 1996, p.114).

“Merely describing the facts of colonialism, without taking an emancipatory political stance, and without offering interventionist methods and theoretical perspectives that enable an examination of the violent actions and erasures of colonisation does not make a study [tika]-right in its critical impulse” (Shome & Hedge, 2002 in Pathak, 2010). Kaupapa Māori contextualizes and demystifies the ideologies and the relations that construct the political and institutional culture that creates and maintain the conditions of domination and subordination for Māori. Over time a popular method of unmasking colonisation was to view the act of decolonisation as ‘the peeling back of layers’ Critical Kaupapa Māori allows us to be inside of a phenomenon to probe from the inside as opposed to a top-down outside view. Being outside of something does little to enhance our understanding of the issue, the phenomenon we are confronted with. It allows the decolonising scholar-researcher to peel back the conditions of domination and ideologically frozen understandings which you and I, iwi and Māori have no conscious control over and ‘largely’ do not recognize the conditions we live as we are caught in the tightly clenched fist of colonisation. Implicit within the principles of Kaupapa Māori are its critical goals which are interventionist and highly political. This is partly because the methods of colonisation were exacted through: “Murder and bloodshed military blockade and armed forces, displacement through land confiscation, destruction of iwi identity markers, destruction of iwi polity, the outnumbering of Māori through rabid migration policies, Policy and institutions absent of Māori decision-making” (Hauraki Collective, AIPE, May 2011)

Critical kaupapa Māori as transformative praxis requires a ‘by the iwi,’ ‘for the iwi approach,’ over recent times limited attention has been given to applying praxis strategies by iwi to alter their day to day living conditions. It is accepted to live within a society where the rules, regulations, institutional policies, systems of government are unfettered by the narratives of tūpuna tikanga, mātauranga, mohiotanga the epistemology of iwi Māori (Smith, 1997).

From a critical kaupapa Māori perspective these conditions are equated to 'living within a void,' transformative praxis seeks radical change to these conditions. Changes wrought through iwi undertaking a "process of conscientisation, resistance and transformation." Tūpuna narrative practices derive from the conceptual constellation of kaupapa Māori.

When Māori, decolonising scholars, utilise tūpuna narrative as the scholastic terms of reference we displace traditional-academic-imperialism (Smith, 1990a, p.171) and recover the spaces for Māori scholarship, Māori worldview, Māori epistemologies. When Māori scholars engage in critical kaupapa Māori projects they speak from a place of decolonisation where the taken-for-granted understandings of the omnipotence of the white, male voice as scholarship is disrupted (Pathak, 2010, p.2).

The agenda of 'Critical Kaupapa Māori,' as an action science provides the conceptual framework to interrogate and probe a phenomenon from inside 'critically examining' and providing the solutions to transform the political arrangements that saturate Māori experiences. This puts Māori into the role of scientist, researcher, ringa raupā and out of the camp labelled terrorist, extremist and fanatical. Iwi-people who undertake praxis-motivated-actions are unpopular, their belief systems and the actions these generate 'go' against societal and group norms (Smith, 1997, p.27). Ostracized, they are no longer a part of the group, marked as different they are persecuted and publicly abused.

This study does not propose Māori undertake terrorist strategies, and or, armed revolution but, advocates for transformative praxis from the perspectives of tūpuna such as Te Kooti, Rua Kenana, Whina Cooper, Te Pūea Hērangi, Tetaurangi Raharuhi, Te Whiti of Parihaka. The story of Māori creation is the highest exemplar of narrative praxis. Over time the struggle for iwi self-determination has been perceived by scholars as isolated moments in time, a political strategy leading to one-off political encounters. These examples of iwi praxis are not isolated they are stratagems that have evolved out of Māori communities as a deliberate course of action to transform a crisis to change institutional decisionmaking (Smith, 1997, p.34). As opposed to isolated

incidences these actions are cumulative, they are praxis actions and stand as living exemplars the issue for iwi Māori is to act on these as an ongoing strategy to achieve mana motuhake and its inevitable outcome tino rangatiratanga.

3.3.4. Action: an iwi calls

The politics of establishing iwi mana-motuhake, in a postcolonial New Zealand, is complicated with problematic issues of sovereignty dominated by the ubiquitous presence of the British Crown. This imposition restrains the aspirations of iwi for self-determination, identity revitalization, difference and belonging. Why groups undertake praxis transformation is as equally important as defining what it is. Praxis 'is not simply change' for the sake of change it is a sequential process of iwi-Māori undertaking transformative action to achieve mana-motuhake.

3.3.5 Conscientisation: the wake-up call

Following the presentation of the Hauraki Māori Trust Boards research reports iwi and kaumātua gathered. Through its 'fallacious' representation the 'research' had wrought injustice the moral, social and cultural disfigurement for 'our' iwi. Our parents and kaumātua responded, recalling their discussion:

> "Ae! no more…we joined the church to get away and now it has come back through the Pākehā at our own marae the more we stay silent the worse it gets for our mokopuna, we have to remember and say our truth… We don't want to remember the cruelty and hardship they bore only for us to shun them…we can't do nothing. First, we karakia, we call a hui we remember and share the kōrero of our tūpuna…and then we fight, but we can't do nothing."

3.3.6 Synthesis

Truth. It echoed, rolling through the whare like a cleansing, healing tide. The slamming of doors in one epoch bolted by shame, fear, and wrong remembered to rawness: on that day those doors were opened, tearing away the last vestiges of false identity layer after layer. "Many others had experienced the journey to conscientisation through the symbolism of layers being torn away as a means of arriving at truth, I heard this when I read the works of writers such as Minnie

Bruce Pratt, bell hooks," Pathak and Poliandri's work on 'First Nations identity' (Poliandri, 2011). No longer 'hegemonically' contained the journey to truth had begun. For Ngāti Koi this was a response to a 'call to arms' as set out by Smith in his landmark doctoral thesis (1997) and Marx in the prelude to the Communist Manifesto calling iwi-people to unite, to form an alliance against an unknown spectre. We did not arm ourselves with taiaha, musket nor bullet but the kōrero of tūpuna narratives.

For Ngāti Koi praxis was not just about uncovering tūpuna narratives and entering the Treaty Settlements arena the reasons set out by kaumātua were enshrined in the principle of iwi mana-motuhake which is the codifying of justice as the right to self-determination as an individual, a whānau hapū and iwi level. Underpinning the research were the principles of respect, integrity, openness honesty these related to:

- Trust members kaumātua and the researchers would interact respectfully
- Kaumātua were led by the most senior members of the iwi Hone Tiwaewae, Nellie Te Moananui, Ani Reta, Lilian Taiawa, Te Taieri Taiawa, Nancye Gage and Rose Te Okeroa, Joel Williams (Chairman) Phyllis Mott (researcher). The researcher group consisted of 3 NIWA scientists, three historians, an archaeologist, a sociologist, 4 legal representatives including a Queen's Counsel, and an anthropologist.
- keeping the message simple and clear: it was important that we all understood what each other was saying, the language was understandable free of jargon and academic verbiage.
- how important aspects of the research would be undertaken such as the achieving of mutual agreements of specific research outcomes,
- Kaumātua were clear that the Hauraki Land Court records pertaining to Ngāti Koi tūpuna would be recalled and archived, this amounted to 1000 pages *plus* of Court minutes.

No longer restrained by the specious acts of false labelling within the Native Land Court, Ngāti Koi kaumātua asserted a leadership role that revitalizes their iwi identity leading to a process of praxis and the establishment of mana motuhake

which is the right to determine its own future mandated by history. The decision to take a Waitangi Tribunal Claim was not a small undertaking, I have discussed the administrative decisions and the impact on the Williams family within the introduction chapter. At the time the tasks seemed insurmountable. A conceptual plan identified key issues which were ranked for historical, iwi socio-cultural importance alongside established goals. Each section broken down into smaller focus areas, members allocated a domain and the writer appointed as a 'ringa raupā' to motivate, instruct, resource, to keep groups on target, identify risk strategies and how these would be overcome. Key kaumātua held and protected the mana maintaining the integrity of the operation as-a-whole: they became the owners of the mahi.

Kaupapa Māori transformative praxis is not time-bound it occurs at a time initiated by Māori. The Waitangi Tribunal Hearings, for Wai 714, was a claim established by Hone Tiwaewae for the Ngāti Koi Claimant Trust to determine the historical breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi by the Crown, this process would take twenty-eight (28) years to come to fruition as the Hauraki Treaty Settlements. Ngāti Koi were pressured for time, the Waitangi Tribunal had received the Trust Boards research which had started some thirty (30) years previously. The crisis to conscientisation stages were traumatizing, members were challenged at every turn, unrelenting, Trust members continued, taking on part-time jobs, homes were mortgaged, iwi supporters returned to help complete and help fund the research. The praxis outcomes for Ngāti Koi were: -

- the right to determine who they are as an iwi, to collate and disseminate their whakapapa to revitalise their iwi history,
- the right to self-determination Māori governance of New Zealand political institutions,
- the setting right of public records regarding their status and identity,
- the right to reclaim and revitalise Ngāti Koi language and its distinctive dialect.

The role of 'critical kaupapa Māori' is to explain and increase the awareness of Māori of their contradictory conditions which are distorted or hidden by everyday

understandings. It aims to produce conscientisation, which is the acute realization that produces deliberate actions liberating iwi from what Comstock calls "the frozen ideologically held conceptions of what is actual and that these conditions can be changed and transformed." For Ngāti Koi praxis occurred at three distinct levels firstly: conscientisation, secondly: iwi identity revitalization and thirdly mana-motuhake (Comstock, 2007, p.384).

Critical reflection: At the heart of this criterion is knowing and understanding the world through the method of Marxist dialectics which is based on the contradictions of what is historically (preformed) promised and the lived realities of iwi. The point is to act on and continue to act on until the process of establishing truth is refined to its penultimate ideal through a dialogical process.

3.4 Embedding the Kaupapa: the role of the ringa raupā

Take the ideas of the masses and concentrate them,
then go to the masses and propagate and explain these ideas
until the masses embrace them as their own,
hold fast to them and translate them into action,
and test the correctness of these ideas in such action.
(Comstock on Mao Tse Tung, 2007, p.1).

Critical kaupapa Māori as transformative praxis is an action science. This requires the identification enlistment and the enablement of moving progressive committed iwi and groups to undertake transformative actions of praxis. Key to this process is the appointment of a dedicated decolonising researcher – the ringa raupā. A critical kaupapa Māori model views the decolonising researcher' as inseparable from the research community because the knowledge they collect and the information they receive belongs to the iwi community it was derived from.

The background of forming a role description for the ringa raupā stems from my work as 'Claims Manager' for the Ngāti Koi Claimant Trust. The process for developing and agreeing on the principles for the trust was important for keeping the trust members united all working towards common objectives and goals.

The following examples are a number of the principles of a charter developed by the Trust as a guide for the role description for the ringa raupā:

> '*Kanohi ki te kanohi,* kōrero will always be in kanohi ki te kanohi-face to face,' "methods of engagement are dialogic," (Comstock, 2007, p.379)
> '*Whakapapa: we know our whakapapa and where we have come from*' "the historical and social specificities will be examined to dissolve the frozen understandings of who we are." (ibid. 2007, p.384)
> *'Whānaungatanga:* we will do this together, we cannot let ourselves be isolated' (extrapolated from the Minutes of a Ngāti Koi kaumātua hui dated 12 June 2000), (ibid. 2007, p.377).

Much of the success of praxis is the recruitment and appointment of a decolonising researcher. Horkheimer's method of praxis is applied as a guideline in constructing the key aspects of the role description of the 'ringa raupā - the decolonising researcher.' *A description that is a co-constructed effort between the researcher and the target progressive community.* What this means is that the task of the social scientist is to describe and explain the facts, not to cogitate action and make prescriptive statements about what an ideal world would look like for Māori and provide scenarios as to how this would be achieved. According to positivistic sciences "ideas and beliefs are made in the minds of the social actor" (Ninnes, History of Sociological Thought. lecture, 2000) From a critical kaupapa Māori philosophy "human actions are historical they take place within a context preconditioned by the sedimentation of the past" (Comstock, 2007, p.380). *The ringa-raupā is the driving-force of praxis working within the community.* According to Comstock, "the researcher cannot be separated into two beings non-political, value-free observer and theorizer on the one hand and a political person who expresses values and interests on the other. The positivist injunction is to always keep these roles separate: to create a disinterested attitude when investigating social and cultural phenomenon and only as a private citizen" (Comstock, 2007, p.376).

3.4.1 Principles for change: Ringa raupā - the decolonising researcher

The principles underpinning ‘kaupapa Māori’ contradict ‘positivist scientistic’ based approaches the later which requires a separation of the researcher from the research community, the subject from the object, the knower from the known, the paramountcy of scientific explanations. Standing in marked contrast to positivism are critical kaupapa Māori and standpoint theory these conceptual approaches assert “that all knowledge is [co]-constructed within a specific matrix of physical location, history, and culture” (Harding in Sprague, 2005, p.79).

According to Matamua, the term ‘ringa wera is connoted by the mahi bounded by the strictures of the kitchen, a role that relates to the preparation and cooking of kai, kitchen work (Matamua, personal communication, 2018). According to tribal tikanga, food, and food associated activities reverses the state of tapu, something holy and set aside, into noa which is the state of ordinariness or nothingness. Given this association, I have replaced ‘ringa wera’ with ‘ringa raupā’ as contextualised by the whakataukī “e moe te tangata ringa raupā” (ibid. 2018). According to Mead and Grove (2001), the term means ‘marry a ‘man’ with calloused hands’ (p.121). My take on this whakataukī is that the term ringa raupā reflects the ubiquitous nature of the role, it applies to persons who work hard alongside their iwi to embed the kaupapa of praxis. The ringa raupā is pivotal to iwi achieving praxis they are the catalysts, the change agent for iwi praxis this requires fortitude, stamina, intellectual dexterity, therefore, the role is appropriate to ‘all’ genders.

In the final section, I present a number of role specifications as a methodological framework of how iwi alongside the ringa raupā commence and sustain praxis actions.

Accordingly, working in a framework of co-construction the role of the ringa raupā - decolonising researcher is to work alongside, listen, empathise, model and to clarify co-constructing a framework for achieving the praxis goals with the iwi.

Kaupapa tuatahi: ***Identify movements or social groups whose interests are progressive.*** Since their aim is to stimulate a self-sustaining process of critical

analysis and enlightened action it becomes necessary for critical researchers to ally themselves with progressive groups and work with them for considerable periods of time. This increases the problems of selecting a group willing and able to take part in critical research for it requires that they become progressively more self-critical and willing to analyse their own values, motives, and understandings as well as critically evaluate the results of their political actions Comstock (2007, p.388).

The Ringa raupā - the decolonising researcher is setting the scene for enlisting an army to undertake revolutionary action, the language utilised must be clear, explicit and at the level of the targeted community. Comstock warns that "Marxist and social science jargonistic terms must be avoided" this is particularly appropriate when working with the community - iwi and whānau. Language has a decisive role in praxis related projects it is a powerful catalyst producing and constructing meaning, however much of the terminology relating to praxis originates from the texts created by Karl Marx. "These terms and their explanations are dense, thick, difficult to pronounce there has been minimal refining of both the term praxis and its attending language" (Mueller, 1958, p. 412). For a decolonising researcher, praxis is hermeneutic, based on dialogic it is a dialogical exchange 'co' reconstructing the world – as the 'subject' sees it and language is key to 'turning' the individual. The Decolonising researcher takes an explanatory role, clarifying jargonistic terms, problematizing certain meanings, motives or values responding to issues deemed problematic. The decolonising researcher comes from a 'place of integrity'- integrity to mean (putting reality into their words and actions) to work with groups that have progressive goals.

Kaupapa Tuarua: ***The search for meanings must be driven by the iwi-grouping.*** Gather the facts: as a research endeavour, the goal for the researcher is to study the historical development of the social conditions and the current social structures that constrain the participants' groups actions and shape their understandings. "to this end, the researcher must also carry out empirical studies of existing social structures and processes. These studies will elucidate the specific determinants of the participants' beliefs and the existing constraints on social practices" (Comstock, 2007, p.381).

Establishing a research environment of co-construction: an auto-ethnographical approach such as that applied by this study is essential to critically engage participants in dialogue about our/their world. According to Adorno the task for a critical social science is "to confront all its statements on the subjective experience. What is important here is to present such empirical findings and analytic theories in ways that clearly show the historical constructedness of their social conditions." (ibid. p.381), (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2005).

Kaupapa Tuatoru: ***To take part in a theoretically grounded program of action which will change social conditions and, in addition, will engender new less alienated understandings and needs.*** Undertaking research to identify the incongruence between what is understood and what is actual. Conditions must be shown, not to be the "consequences of immutable laws," but to be structures and processes constructed by elites as a ruling class bloc with specific interests and intentions (ibid. p.382). The role of the decolonising scholar and "the purpose of critical research and theory is to initiate action by giving an adequate knowledge; of the historical development of the social conditions, and a vision of a desirable and possible future" (Grossberg, 2016). This step of political action links the subjects' actions back to social conditions to reduce or eliminate the irrational construction of contradictory social conditions (Comstock, 2007, p.386)."These develop as a result of current actions based on ideologically frozen understandings under the conditions of domination, many actions are the result of social conditions over which actors have no conscious control." The decolonising researcher-scholar investigates, researches to reveal the historical consequences of actions to uncover the unanticipated social conditions that result from "ideologically" determined action, not of 'their' making (ibid. p.385). In this manner, *actions* become purposive. Based on its historical construction action becomes conscious and reflective through critical education informed by a critical analysis.

"What is objective social structure and process becomes subjective or meaningfully comprehended and what is subjectively comprehended becomes objectified in social process and structure." To simplify this statement the 'actor,'

you and I, are responsible for our actions we come from a place of knowing and being fully informed of impending revolutionary actions. The subjects' existence and their self-understandings are brought into theoretical and practical unity and critical *thought* becomes an active social *force*. Critical researchers do not, therefore, enter progressive groups on an episodic basis to solve defined problems (Comstock, 2007, p.386). The journey to achieve praxis can take a lifetime.

Kaupapa Tuawha: ***To construct models of the determinate relations between social conditions, intersubjective interpretations of those conditions, and participants' actions.*** This means to demonstrate how historical conditions remain and continue to determine the lives of iwi. “All critical accounts are based on an understanding of the historical dialectic by which social processes and intersubjective meanings have developed” (ibid. p. 384). The aim of ‘deconstruction’ is to show how meanings are the product of specific historical conditions, it focuses on the dialectical tension between the historically created conditions of action and iwi understandings of these conditions. Iwi cultural identity derives from traditional Māori principles they are defined by Māori for Māori and drawn from a time unfettered by colonist institutional arrangement. Therefore, in summary: for Ngāti Koi, Ngāti Tara Tokanui iwi praxis was achieved when Kaumātua stood before the Waitangi Tribunal recounting the narratives of tūpuna. A process of conscientisation occurred: incensed iwi ‘deliberate on,’ and reject historical research reports prepared without their sanction, a period of reflection and action followed resulting in the achievement Wai Claim 714 a Waitangi Tribunal claim.

The principles of critical kaupapa Māori and praxis are similar in content and intent. Smith draws our attention to respect, manaaki, co-construction, listening to, kanohi kitea these are the fundamental principles required by iwi researchers seeking to engage with Māori communities. As an action science, Critical Kaupapa Māori does not predict, idealize the world for groups undertaking transformative change, its aim is to illuminate, to uncover the conceptual and institutional structures to make clear the historical specificities and how these have shaped their present-day conditions (Smith, 1999). Reflecting on the change process undertaken by Ngāti Koi the role of the decolonising researcher was

pivotal to the initiating of change, At the outset, key principles were established by kaumātua setting out the maps and markers of how the relationship with the ‘researchers would proceed. At the heart of their concerns was the exercising of power by a researching community they had no personal knowledge of the researchers, in this context they could not understand how ‘they’ could represent the best interests of Ngāti Koi. They are strangers, how can they write about us when they do not know us? How do we know they understand our story? How do we know they won’t lose track and be influenced by the views of the other iwi? These were some of the questions that were raised. Each day as the outpouring of questions flooded in, the role of the ringa raupā became vitally important.

What was more important was the evidence considerable scepticism that there was no information pertinent to our iwi, reigned. If it were not for Dame Evelyn Stokes, we may have not persisted with the formal historical report. Ngāti Koi did not know the wealth of kōrerorero narrated by tūpuna, the maps, whakapapa, the whakapapa that traced the genealogical legacy linking tūpuna to maunga, to the land and sea and sky, the incredible feats, the battles war, and intermarriages. The information a trickle at first and then it flowed on and on unstoppable, the narratives of ‘unknown’ tūpuna who called themselves Ngāti Koi Ngāti Tara, a thousand pages long. Heather Bassett the historian brought the documents, the folios, faithfully copied respectfully placing them before kaumātua for their consideration. Sign, story, word and narrative coalesced creating the conditions of conscientisation leading to iwi praxis: transformation and change. ‘They’ validated the context to speak, protecting the places to be spoken from enveloping the iwi, the ringa raupā, in a tūpuna korowai of narrative inter-stitched with threads of truth, veracity, legitimacy, manaaki-profound deep support and rangimārie-peace. ‘These’ were the narratives of Te Keepa and Ngāti Koi tūpuna, they had come home.

3.5 Hegemony: The narrative of power, ideology, and culture

3.5.1 The intent of this section

My intent in this section is to understand the role of hegemony and how it interlocks the ensemble of relations that comprise the economic, political,

cultural, and social realms that iwi find themselves within on a day to day basis. The theories and work of Antonio Gramsci are key to understanding the role of colonisation and Māori. Influenced by Marx, Gramsci was incarcerated for speaking against fascism, the 'Prison Notebooks' which included his work on hegemony was penned in prison where he died in a prison clinic in Rome in April 1937. Gramsci's theory of hegemony consists of three essential elements: popular support, consensus, and consent. To these I would add Hall's concept of 'containment' to highlight the core argument of this thesis; that tūpuna narratives are powerful counter-hegemonic tools. They liberate iwi who have moved beyond the 'confinement' of 'frozen understandings' and progressed into the cycle of transformative praxis. For Hall, "ideology is the naturalization of a particular-cultural-historical articulation. That, what is natural can be taken for granted. Ideology and culture are linked, they, in turn, are linked to power and power is sustained by hegemony" (Hall, 1996, p.162).

There were many tellers their lessons learnt and remembered from those early days in 'the Church'. Zealously anti-communist the Covenanters sponsored the 'East Europe Underground Church' and hosted 'expelled persons' from the Soviet Union under Communist rule. In 1974 Aleksandyr Solzhenitsyn on a worldwide campaign to raise funds for the Underground Church, came to stay. There were many similarities between Solzhenitsyn and Gramsci. They were labelled political dissidents, imprisoned for speaking against communism, confidants smuggled their research out of their respective countries, they were publicly vilified. They deployed Marxist based strategies to destroy Marxist based systems. Interned for speaking against the Stalin regime, Solzhenitsyn was released, based on worldwide appeals.

The Kirk government of 1974 granted him 'extraordinary Visa rights to visit New Zealand. He fought for change freedom from Communist rule under Brezhnev. Known for his international campaign against Communist rule, his 'lectures' captivated my father who visited him often to hear him speak, I remember the power of his orations as he told the system of torture at Lubyanka Prison, smuggling Bibles into the Soviet Union, and life in the 'Gulags of death' in deep Siberia. Solzhenitsyn was awarded the Nobel peace prize for Literature in 1970

his efforts, and those of the Underground Church contributed to the overthrow of communism.

3.5.2 The Discourse of ideology and culture

There is a discursive relationship between ideology and culture, however, they are not the same, ideology is linked to power, power underpins culture. “Ideology yokes together particular social practices and relations within specific structures of meaning, thus anchoring them in a structure in which these relations are more clearly defined” (Jhally, 1997 Https). This discursive process is important as it enlarges and expands our understanding of how power and ideology intervene in matters such as culture and economic interests, culture and social interests and how and where these interests interlock.

Over the past decade there has arisen a sustained critique of ‘ideology.’ According to Stuart Hall “, this is reductive and does not help solve enduring questions of colonisation such as its relationship to culture – the economic and the social interests it shapes.” (Hall in Jhally, 1997, Https). In his chapter titled “The Problem of Ideology: Marxism Without Guarantees” Hall provides a helpful two-step definition of the term ideology giving clarity to this intricate and complex issue:

> “the mental frameworks, the languages, the concepts the categories, imagery of thought and the systems of representation which different social groups deploy to make sense of, define, work out make intelligible the way society works” (Hall, 1996, p.27).
>
> a key “role of ideology is to give an account, within a materialist theory, of how social ideas arise so that [people] understand what their role is in a particular social formation to inform the struggle to change society …towards a … transformation of society” (Hall, 1996, p.1).

3.5.3 The roads to Marxist Theory

The roads to Marxist theory are many and varied there is the neo-Marxist, the post-Marxist, the liberal-Marxist there is also a “western Marxism” and to this, I would add a ‘southern-Marxism’ as applied within and to the theories of Kaupapa

Māori (Hall, 1996, p.26). I do not intend to discuss the above variations of Marxist theory and or try to capture the complex theorizing that attends them but to "note that the theories of Marx' provide the pathways to hegemony as he recognised that economic exploitation was not the only driver behind capitalism, a system reinforced by a dominance of ruling class ideas and values. These concepts lead to Engels's statement that 'false consciousness' would keep the working class from recognising and rejecting their oppression" (Heywood, 1994: 85). Working within these terms of reference "Antonio Gramsci developed the concept of cultural hegemony based on Karl Marx's theory "that the dominant ideology of society reflected the beliefs and interests of the ruling class" (ibid. p.85)

3.5.4 What is hegemony and what is its role?

To be clear: hegemony is not domination nor is it active subordination. It is distinct from rule by force such as a military dictatorship, its rule is covert because it allows those in power to achieve rule using ideology and culture (Crossman, 2017), (Cole, 2017).

For Gramsci, there are three parts to hegemony:

3.5.5 Common sense

'Common sense' naturalises all things. It is a process by which a hegemonic class articulates (or coordinates) the interests of social groups to the point that those groups, [iwi], actively consent to their subordinated status (Hall, 1971, p.141). For example, Māori live in New Zealand under living conditions circumscribed by the Crown in England and these conditions are accepted. According to Sut Jhally, " this acceptance is hegemonic." Māori have become 'so' immersed, saturated by British culture "the current conditions are accepted as natural as, the natural world. Just as fish live in water, birds live in the forest, worms live in dirt" (Jhally, 1997, https). Therefore, Māori live in a majoritarian society a microcosm of England 'locked up' in the soil of Aotearoa where 'once upon a time' the cultural underpinnings were the spiritual pejoratives of Atua, the sea: the bounds of Tangaroa formed from the tears of Ranginui and the soil the plenitudinous bequest of the earth goddess Papatūānuku.

Hegemony as common-sense acceptance does not solely relate to things cultural political, and social; it influences iwi society at an economic level. Crossman provides an in-depth analysis of the multi-layers of poverty embedded in society and how 'common sense' has influenced this position leading to cyclical, intergenerational and cultural related inequality: over time these inequalities have become an inherent characteristic embedded deep within the capitalist system that dominates western society (Slack, in Morley 1996, p.17).

The continual narrating of iwi epistemologies such as 'by Māori for Māori' disturbs the traditional and inserts an alternative hegemony, by displacing established 'belief systems' that, only certain institutions and groups within society have the ability to represent and to espouse common sense. Iwi acceptance that the Treaty Settlements is the most sensible, the fairest and justiciable system for the resolving of Māori grievances is an example of hegemony. Common sense and "the power to represent common sense" is determined by the groups wielding cultural power – such as the British in New Zealand. Gramsci makes it clear that common sense 'what is normal, every day', taken for granted" requires an 'alternative hegemony' (Marx quoted by Hall, in Morley. 1971, p.41)

3.5.6 Consensus

It is evident that the conceptual framing of the works of Stuart Hall is largely influenced by the writings of Antonio Gramsci. Importantly, in seeking to understand historical phenomenon Hall has developed new strands of theory based on the work of Gramsci.

According to Hall:

> "hegemony need not depend upon consensus, or consent to particular ideological constructions, it is a matter of containment defining the limits within which we can struggle." It is the struggle to articulate the position of leadership, within the social formation, the attempt by the ruling bloc to win for itself the position of leadership across the entire terrain of cultural and political life (Hall, 1996, p.163).

The concept of hegemony as containment, in the context of fascism and incarceration, resonates with this study. When I first read the theories of Gramsci, I felt half-hearted about the relationship between ‘consensus,’ ‘popular support’ and ‘common-sense’ as concepts to understand the subjugation a people in their land such as Māori in New Zealand. I wanted a discursive capability of capturing the historical social and political experiences of Māori. Stuart Hall’s theory of ‘hegemony as containment’ is a powerful portrayal of the conditions for Māori.

3.5.7 Popular support

Hegemony requires the mobilisation of popular support for support of its social projects such as iwi acceptance of the Treaty Settlements. In this same way people assent to; a particular social order, a particular system of power, a particular articulation of chains of equivalence, the process of coding, (described more fully in the section on language) by which the interests of the ruling bloc come to define the leading positions of the people.

> “Consent to the rule of the dominant group is achieved by the spread of dominant ideologies” a collection of world-views, beliefs, assumptions, and values -- via social institutions like education, media, family, religion, politics, the judiciary and law,” Treaty Settlements are examples of hegemony (Hall, 1996, p.152).

“It is a struggle over the popular, a matter of articulated relations: not only within civil society but between the State as a condensed site of power, the economic sector and civil society” (Grossberg, 1997, p.185). Added to this is the British Crown, a demographic tilted in its favour, correspondingly they each hold, shape, symbolise and maintain all things British in New Zealand setting the limits the socio-cultural and political agency, the life reach of Māori. Māori have moved from physical colonisation to mental incarceration.

Spurred on by the seeming benefits of Treaty Settlements iwi have come to believe that the economic and social conditions of their society are natural and inevitable, the injustices belong to the past and are the products of colonisation the latter, which, no longer exists. And therefore, the social justice, political and

economic structures that go with settlements are just, legitimate, and designed for the benefit of all, even though they benefit only a ruling bloc. The aim of the Treaty Settlements process is to settle outstanding iwi historical grievances by the Crown there is an expectation by iwi that this process would bring justice as decolonisation through greater measures of opportunity, tangible power-sharing at an institutional level, there would be greater social and political autonomy.

However, this has not occurred, iwi clamber to sign their Deeds of Settlement pressured by the Crowns agenda and threats: “that time is running out on the settlements process, a process that will never occur again.” According to Paki, the trickle-down benefits to iwi have yet to materialize. Treaty Settlements favour the CEO, the administrator. A new ruling class bloc of a beige variety is begat. Crumbs begat beggars, beggars begat society. This form of common sense fosters the belief that success and social mobility are the responsibility of the (iwi) individual, obscuring the role of the state, the role of the ruling class bloc. It obscures class, gender inequalities and the obliteration of iwi tūpuna narrative which once upon a time was the source of iwi society (Paki, personal communication, 2015). Justice knows no timeframe, clock or sundial, countries external to New Zealand that have experienced similar acts of land pillage and cultural genocide are able to seek recourse through international justice systems. However, iwi have consented to an internal process devised by, funded, managed, and facilitated by the Crown the author of this misery. In sum, hegemony is the “tacit agreement and consent with the way that things are” such as our experiences with social institutions, our exposure to cultural narratives, symbolism, and imagery, and how norms enclose and influence our everyday lives (Cole, 2017).

3.6 Tūpuna narrative: counter-hegemony

According to Smith, what is required is a counter-hegemony. Schools established under the institutional norms of Pākehā play a significant role in the formation of hegemony, equally Schools established under kaupapa Māori provide a powerful counter-hegemonic model. In this context, he refers to hegemony as a domesticating force… it is the confrontation and/or opposition to the existing status quo and its legitimacy in politics (Smith, 1997, p.159).

Tūpuna narrative is counter-hegemonic in that they communicate cultural information of iwi Māori and not the coloniser. A product of culture, yet on the other hand narrative determines and constructs culture (Griffin & Devereaux, 2013, p.2). Its key feature is its power to connect and bind in perpetuity cosmogony to; ancestor, to tūpuna, to present-day iwi. The prime objective of tūpuna narrative is the placing before Iwi Māori, the systems of meanings, modes of understanding, the epistemologies of another world: the world prior to colonisation, in this manner, they are counter-hegemonic.
Why are narratives counter-hegemonic? They shape and mould ideology established by Iwi Māori for Iwi Māori. Their objective is praxis as revolution the non-violent alternative to war. For further elucidation of 'counter-hegemony' as it relates to Māori please refer to Smith (1997) his model of counter-hegemony is found at section two: chapter five pages 147-161 of his landmark thesis (1997).

3.6.1 Narrative

This study examines how an iwi (Ngāti Koi) challenged and resisted the hegemonic identity that was imposed on them in the late nineteenth century that effectively subjugated, alienated and silenced them erasing their memories of who they were and are.

3.7 The findings and concluding summary of this chapter

At the commencement of this chapter, I posed essential questions of what is critical kaupapa Māori? What is its etymology and how does this conceptual approach benefit iwi? The answer to these questions, interwoven throughout the chapter, are important to this study for they hold the keys of re-establishing iwi Māori tino-rangatiratanga. Through the alignment of kaupapa models and western concepts, our spectrum of meaning-making, of understanding and making sense of the world we live are markedly increases. In this chapter, I explored the theoretical constructs relating to narrative practices to demonstrate how the profound changes to Ngāti Koi identity can be attributed to tūpuna narrative practices. As a result, this chapter has found that the establishment of theoretical korowai comprising tūpuna narrative and tauiwi concepts contextualised by kaupapa Māori philosophy, create praxis.

In answer to the questions relating to how the process, of aligning critical, kaupapa and tūpuna narrative, benefits iwi the findings of this chapter confirm that tūpuna narratives as catalysts of praxis create the conditions of change, revitalisation, and transformation of iwi cultural identity. In the case of Ngāti Koi, these changes were exponential, they impacted on Ngāti Koi iwi, this study, and the author, in a number of ways these are highlighted at the following:

1. The revitalisation of iwi whakapapa and the narratives endowed by tūpuna created the establishment of iwi identity.
2. Methodology, theory concepts and Ngāti Koi epistemology relating to narrative practices and praxis are established
3. As a result of the tūpuna narratives uncovered in this work questions of Ngāti Koi cultural identity in a political legal and social environment have been annulled.

As the study progressed, I realised there were substantial gaps in the scholarship, there was a noticeable gap in the research: concepts outside of the reach of indigenous cultural studies and anthropology were required. In the initial research stages, I discovered the ground-breaking thesis (1997) of Graham Hingangaroa Smith his work provides the main terms of reference for this study. Through his work, I was able to link and make associations between tūpuna narrative, praxis, critical kaupapa Māori and iwi cultural identity practices. These tools enabled me to discover my topic, investigate and explain the changes for Ngāti Koi but more importantly, his concept of critical kaupapa Māori gave my study the theoretical framework to discover, explore and analyse my topic, a conceptual space that remains largely unchartered. More work charting the theoretical domains of culture and identity that have praxis objectives is urgently required. The goals of studies on praxis seek a ‘whole of sea’ change, and when that change occurs, what then does the future hold?

The Ngāti Maniapoto pepeha ‘ma mua a muri ka tika’ brings the past forwards but importantly it places the future in the context of the past and vice versa. What this means is that the decisions on or about our future are tempered, moderated determined by the past events. These questions are vital to the role and place of

praxis, sadly this study did not investigate the issues of what the world for iwi would look like following a praxis -based revolution, rather it sought to provide a conceptual framework as to how to achieve the world of praxis, in this regard the research is deficient. Further postgraduate research is required given the scope of political and institutional change.

In section three of this chapter, I present a diagrammatic model of praxis charting the changes for Ngāti Koi. The key achievement of this chapter confirms that tūpuna narrative practices are powerful exemplars of change and transformation. By aligning the concepts of critical theory, kaupapa and Māori enabled a method to be formulated to plot the journey, describe the stages, and map the progress of achieving praxis for Ngāti Koi iwi. A 'clothoid loop,' reformed in slight ways, is applied to describe the journey in pictorial form. Current scholarship portrays the praxis cycle in a myriad of ways there are boxed, circular, square, oval-shaped models appended by arrows pointing in an 'every which way direction' overall they bespeak confusion, muddled pathways, multilayered levels of entry. Praxis is simple, it is explicit both in its conceptual and political intent. Any attempt to narrate this concept in symbolic form requires simplicity, clarity, straightforwardness. For these and the issues discussed within this chapter boxed, oval, square and circular shaped models are inappropriate to discover, explore and plot the journey of praxis as a process of change and transformation.

This chapter has investigated both western and indigenous concepts of narrative, the result is a robust method of aligning kaupapa Māori concepts with the critical theories of the Frankfurt School. This model is central to this study and is interwoven throughout the chapters of this thesis. 'Praxis' and 'critical' are Tauiwi concepts in keeping with the tikanga of kaupapa namely the principles of 'respect' and 'integrity,' wheresoever applicable, I have noted and carefully referenced the key theorists and their works as an ethical requirement and also as a matter of respect for the author and the work cited. In this manner, this work contributes to the ongoing kaupapa Māori interventions that seek to establish tūpuna narrative practices as a conceptual framework in-its-own-right.

I explored how critical approaches aligned to kaupapa Māori informs our understandings of the struggles for iwi. My findings confirm that the 'ringa raupā'- the decolonising researcher is pivotal to the achievement of iwi praxis, I have formulated a charter and a role description setting out the key areas of performance based on the principles set by iwi and the mandates of critical kaupapa theory.

In this study, I have taken a determined, unrelenting approach to interweave praxis and tūpuna narrative. The ongoing colonisation of Aotearoa is exacted through hegemony and the halting of its insidious existence requires the scholastic endeavours of iwi, Māori and indigenous writers who have the goals of praxis at the core of their writing. In these ways this chapter contributes to the core question of this study, it provides a framework for understanding how tūpuna narratives inform, create and establish the conditions of iwi praxis.

Tūpuna narratives are the important receptacles, the conveyors of iwi cultural practices. Colonisation is ongoing it takes on both overt and covert forms. Its objective is not simply to 'disrupt or interrupt' the intergenerational transmission of tikanga" (Pihama, 2014, p.249) its goal is the physical silencing the obliteration of all other cultures. Violently incised in the nineteenth century, today colonisation takes on more virulent forms weaponised to delegitimate the ontological (the cultural ways of being), epistemological (the traditional ways and knowledges) philosophical (the ideological) validity of iwi narrative practices.

This study takes the position that 'culture' works on 'culture' it is a two-way process, culture cannot operate in isolation. The point of praxis is to turn ideology (tauiwi culture) 'on its head,' this, I propose is through the strategic (re)insertion of Māori culture as tūpuna narrative practices. These are the matters of the next chapter on methodology where I examine ways of turning tauiwi culture 'on its head' of getting inside the world of those generating culture to change it.

Chapter 4

Methodology

Place the first length of harakeke on an angle to the right
and fold the top length back over to the left.
Then place the second to the right of the of the first,
and the top length folded back.
And where the strands criss-cross
there
narratives are created
the foundations
on which this thesis shall stand and talk.

4.1 Introduction and overview

The methodological approach to this study is the melding of specific concepts from the following disciplines of Anthropology and Sociology with Kaupapa Māori. My intent is to demonstrate how Kaupapa Māori as a scholastic korowai:-

> enables tūpuna narrative practices as a methodology for the framing of thesis studies
>
> is characterised by whakapapa therefore it cannot be changed, falsified or adapted to 'suit' invader-colonising cultures.
>
> produce new conceptual, epistemological frameworks such as conjunctural analysis, relationality, contextualisation core principles of Kaupapa Māori,
>
> describes the etymology - the philosophical underpinnings of colonial ideology to provide a systematic way of examining how current institutional practices reproduce colonisation
>
> utilising traditional methods it interweaves linking disparate approaches to establish counter – iwi interventions and strategies

4.2 Context: Māori Kaupapa as Kaupapa Māori 'mā muri ā mua, ka tika

Tūpuna narratives are the repositories of iwi mātauranga: the descriptive accounts of the rich and multi-layered events that have occurred in the past. They are passed over the generations in narrative forms to endow present-day generations

with their ‘truths’ unique to their particularity for they are grounded in first-hand first-speaker experience (Josselson & Lieblic, 2010). The methodological underpinnings of the thesis are guided by the Ngāti Maniapoto pēpēhā ‘mā muri ā mua, ka tika’ its literal translation referring to the well-functioning of the marae that when the back (the Kitchen the operational elements) is right, the front (the tapu and formal elements-the Paepae, Wharenui, marae ātea) is right. There are innate laws that pertain to iwi marae chief among these is the principle of manaakitanga: the importance of caring for manuhiri, supporting and sustaining iwi wellbeing. For iwi such as Ngāti Koi, Ngāti Tara Tokanui, the kitchen is the focal point of the marae it is referred to, by certain iwi members, as the nucleus of the marae. All good things emanate from these quarters such as kai, the preparation of food, planning, and execution of large functions, warmth, a conversation the jovial banter of Ringa wera. It’s well functioning emanating throughout, affecting the whole marae.

At the outset, it is important to note that language and narrative have similar outcomes. According to Hall “language is the ‘privileged medium’ where meanings are conveyed, produced and exchanged to make sense of reality it is the key repository of cultural values and meaning (Hall, 1997, p.4). These facets can also be applied to narrative as a medium of communicating the cultural identity matters of iwi. At its most basic level, tūpuna narratives are about the narration of iwi ideology, epistemology they transmit and preserve socio-cultural meanings. Narrative forms are limitless: expressed as symbolic, written, illustrative and spoken modes, “they are the descriptive accounts of the rich and multi-layered meanings of historical and personal events” (Josselson & Lieblich, 1985, p. 3).

‘Mā muri ā mua ka tika’ is applied within this study as both a theory and methodology within the conceptual constellation of critical kaupapa Māori. Taken literally ‘ma muri ā mua ka tika’ epitomises academic research practice which is a reaching back into the deep past, by both iwi and the researcher to bring tūpuna narratives forwards into the present time to transform and change their current day socio-political situations. When applied within a critical kaupapa Māori framework mā muri ‘ā mua, ka tika’ becomes a strategic intervention: a process of conscientisation and transformation where iwi become the change agents of their

historical positioning. The ‘back’ relates to that ‘phase’ before history back to cosmogony, the ‘front’ relates to the present and future. I have adopted this principle to guide the conceptual approaches of the thesis. Why? Because ‘mā muri ā mua, ka tika’ as a methodological foundation of this study is the bringing forwards of tūpuna narratives into the present to change by making sense of and to gain understandings of how Māori are continually caught in the hegemonic fist of colonisation.

The celebrated historian Oliver (2015) states “for Māori, the past is not behind but in front of them, that they move in the future backwards, a perspective which emphasizes continuity and ignores change. The explicit distinction between past, ‘present, and future is defined by resolution of wrongs, a yearning to remain in a mythical past” (p.14). To apply the word ‘backwards’ in its adverbial sense is to stigmatise a group of people as lazy, regressive and opposed to change. For Ngāti Koi tūpuna narratives embody epistemology.

They are the rich, complex firsthand experiences of a people, they form a coherent record of history connecting iwi to cosmogony to a land, awa and maunga. These culturally defined places of geography are not mythical productions manufactured in a ‘make believe’ past, they are the whakapapa of an iwi. Ngāti Koi were seeking a specific kind of change: a praxian change of their present circumstances of cultural, social and political obliviousness. These explicit distinctions of change based on the past, as the moral and cultural compass for the future of the iwi, is a forward action of looking into the future from the past. These are the codicils of History is a field of study historians such as Oliver are celebrated members. Through their continued narration: cultural identity is protected, preserved and maintained from one generation to the next. (abstracted from Matamua 7, June 2016).

There are innate laws-tikanga that determine the nature of relationships, the methodology relating to procedures (behaviour’s) and protocols. The standpoint of this work is taken from that ubiquitous kawa ‘that iwi speak *from* their marae-iwi, *about* their marae-iwi, *for* their marae-iwi’ (Keenan, 2009). This positions this work as an iwi-ethnographic model where I speak of Ngāti Koi tikanga and kawa, I do not speak of other iwi and or in a derogatory way as modern scholars

have done. Where I have named other iwi, it is due to their having a direct bearing on the kaupapa of this study which is Ngāti Koi tūpuna narratives. “Tikanga Māori” by Hirini Moko Mead is an internationally renowned book examining the concept of tikanga, it is based on the cultural perspectives of his iwi Te Ati Awa. By speaking about his iwi signifies the work of Mead as an exemplar of tikanga which as a word derives from ‘tika’ which means what is ‘right’ or ‘correct.’ (Mead, 2003, p.X10)

Tika, which means right or correct, is the first syllable of ‘tikanga’ to act in a tikanga manner is to act in-accordance-with kaupapa Māori: in ways ‘appropriate’ to Māori. In a research setting, to take combine, mix and match to suit pragmatic goals without considering issues of tikanga is a negation of kaupapa principles of respect, honour and integrity.

4.2.1 Whakapapa: contextualising the methodology

Fundamental to kaupapa Māori is the principle of whakapapa. According to Ngāti Koi tikanga (law), whakapapa is the linking principle that binds whānau, hapū, iwi and is the most fundamental point of reference as to who we are and how we identify our interrelatedness to all things physical and metaphysical such as the land, the sea, cosmogony. Whakapapa embeds us in every aspect of the Māori worldview as it defines both the individual and kin groups and determines the relationships between them. John Rangihau expresses the centrality of whakapapa to Māori, “Whakapapa is the most fundamental aspect of the way we think about and come to know our world”. “Whakapapa also positions us in historical relationships with other iwi, access to land and within the universe, we are the seeds or direct descendants of the heavens and trace our whakapapa back to the very beginning of time and the creation of the universe” (Smith, 1999, p. 1.9), (Ihimaera, 1997, p.357).

By applying whakapapa as a methodology, I am able to make sense of the framework of ‘mātauranga’ that expansive body of knowledge that comprise Māori epistemological systems and strategies and how these can be applied within an academic field of study. When I think about Kaupapa Māori Theory and its place in the world of science, as an iwi researcher, I am filled with an

overwhelming confidence because whakapapa contextualises, it grants and defines my place in this world.

The meaning of the word iwi can take two forms, that of a singular individual and a plural entity: a tribe. From the perspective of this study, the transmission and embedding of cultural theoretical practice is the responsibility of both the individual and the tribe. Kaupapa Māori is learned bequeathed from Cosmogony to Atua to Tūpuna, to iwi-to hapu-to whanau-to the individual.

“Embedded in the concept of kaupapa is the notion of acting strategically, of proceeding purposively” (Smith, 1999, p. 1) In this manner Kaupapa begats scientific method and theories. According to Pihama (2001) “Māori have always been theorists.”

4.2.2 Whanaungatanga: the methodology of associations

Whānaungatanga, as a scholastic tool, provides a conceptual framework that enables me: to ‘locate’ and ‘position’ to link and make associations at a disciplinary, a political, and personal level. It provides ‘the’ framework that allows me to question the substance of my ‘subjective’ positioning (Hall, 1996, p.34). Contextualised by whanaungatanga auto-ethnography as applied in this study resists the “insular narcissism that narrows story to merely of self; of her/my experiences, and her thoughts because it names the systems that shape, constrict, disrupt, inform both the story and the storyteller” (Gonzalez, in Pathak, 2010). It places the ‘her/my story’ within the iwi. According to Takacs, being aware of the impact of bias on epistemology is important “examining connections particularly the inter-connectedness between subjective-positionality and epistemology is a fundamental part of self-conscientisation and praxis.” (Takacs, 2003). This kaupapa is the procedural foundations on which this thesis stands and talks.

As a cultural study, this thesis is about iwi making and remaking, transforming their cultural identity and how these changes result from praxis which leads to iwi mana motuhake the penultimate stage of iwi self-governance, political self-determination. As Anthropology: this work is an auto-ethnographic study it does not speak in the third person. As Sociology: it is interested in social groupings. As

Cultural Studies it is a research study about iwi culture and identity therefore, this research is positioned within the disciplines of anthropology, cultural studies and sociological.

Since the first footfalls of colonisation, the political and social circumstances for Māori have not changed, Māori live within a majoritarian society dominated by the cultural, political and social pejoratives of another culture. Classification systems noting the grim results of this situation have become very sophisticated however, the conceptual, theoretical and methodological ways of understanding the persistence of colonisation and the concomitant plight of Māori have made little advancement. This is due to the considerable ambivalence by academia toward developing appropriate and responsive research methodologies, and partly because, since 1769 they have remained isolated from the social, cultural political realities of Māori minimal attention has been given to research methods appropriate Māori communities.

In this, I outline the advancement of interdisciplinary-intersectoral - Kaupapa methods of working with the hope of stimulating reconsideration of research activities which are appropriate to a Kaupapa Māori science of praxis (Comstock, 2007). I address kaupapa as a methodological way of discovering my area of study which is tūpuna narratives and how they inform iwi praxis. How they enable iwi to access the deep past, and how they transpose from principle to medium becoming all at once, a gateway, a receptacle, a conduit for relaying instructions of transformation and change. Interdisciplinary research is not a new phenomenon, “what links them is the question of ‘how do we go about’ generating knowledge that is valid and vital for individuals, communities, to achieve large-scale democratic social change?” (Brydon-Miller, 2003, p. 11). However, when we are seeking to work as interdisciplinary researchers or attempting to align and integrate different fields within the same sciences, ‘this act of freeing ourselves of the disciplinary corsetry invites a maelstrom of contempt and scorn. Locker (1994) in Sumner set out some of the reasons why interdisciplinary research is so difficult: “it requires more time and effort and secondly when we import ‘tools’ from other disciplines we are more likely to make conceptual and or methodological mistakes” (Sumner, 2003, p. 1).

This work speaks from the ātea of Ngahutoitoi Marae it is an iwi-ethnographic model based on the tikanga of Ngāti Koi. I do not speak of other iwi and, or, in a derogatory way as modern scholars have done. Where I have named other iwi it is due to their having a direct bearing on the kaupapa of this study which is Ngāti Koi tūpuna narratives. "Tikanga Māori" by Hirini Moko Mead is an internationally renowned book examining the concept of tikanga, it is based on the cultural perspectives of his iwi Te Ati Awa. By speaking about his iwi, the work of Mead is an exemplar of tikanga. Tika, which means right or correct, is the first syllable of 'tikanga' to act in a tikanga manner is to act in-accordance-with kaupapa Māori: in ways 'appropriate' to Māori (Mead, 2003, p.10). In a research setting, to take combine, to mix and match to suit pragmatic goals without considering issues of tikanga is a negation of kaupapa principles of respect, honour and integrity.

The way scholars understand and make sense of social phenomenon is based on the conceptual tools, the ideological underpinnings of specific disciplines such as psychology, anthropology, culture studies, politics and history.

4.3 The Kaupapa of method: alignment, fusing, mixing and matching

Kaupapa Māori is begat through the whakapapa practices of iwi and Māori. Kaupapa Māori methodology, applied by this study, is undergirded by the philosophical approaches and theories of Māori as the indigenous people of Aotearoa and results from the groundbreaking work of Tuhiwai-Smith and Graham Hingangaroa Smith. Kaupapa Māori and critical social science origin from two distinctly different cultures. The etymology of critical methodology is Western Europe. Critical social science referred to in this study has its roots in the Frankfurt School and the Marxist theories espoused by Horkheimer and Adorno (Kellner, Critical theory, Marxism, and modernity, 1989),

There are clear benefits to the aligning of key approaches of greater importance is keeping true to the principles of whānaungatanga which is the "honouring, respecting and maintaining the mana of each other's concepts" (Berryman, 2013, p. 8). This means clearly identifying; the origin of the theory, its context, the name

of the tūpuna author-narrator, and on whose authority does the narrator speak. There are many differences between the two approaches. These are more in their respective cultural specificities than in kind "they are matters of emphasis and degree rather than categorical." According to Burke, this linking establishes a more fully integrated view of the self as a cultural subject, the essence of examining iwi identity. In this manner, we develop a politically efficacious concept of identity, where the discursive structures through which identity is pieced together are examined, analysed and demystified (Burke, 1998, p. 3).

Kaupapa Māori and critical theory are two different disciplines within the same field of science. The fusing of critical theory and kaupapa Māori research methodologies are examples of intersectoral ways of working. They are not the same in terms of their points of origin, however, there are similarities between each discipline they espouse; the importance of socio-historical conditions, common principles of honouring, respect and vigilance. They ensure the accurate describing of the attributes, the etymology of a discipline, a conceptual approach (Smith G. H., 2003), school of thought, field of study (Comstock, 2007, p. 1) they are the principals at the heart of kaupapa Māori espoused by Tuhiwai-Smith (Smith, 1999).

Kaupapa Māori and critical theory have been developed to predict, research and explain changes in human circumstances, they are based on sets of principals that articulate common goals such as the emancipation of individuals, classes and societies that are oppressed by and alienated from social processes they maintain but do not control. Secondly, "they seek the development of critical theories of contemporary political institutions and the establishment of methods that can emancipate by increasing the awareness of social actors" (Comstock, 2007, p. 1). Thirdly, they seek the development and embedding of research practices that are characterised by reciprocity, respect, manaakitanga and whānaungatanga (Smith, 1999). Drawing on the work of Smith, Tuhiwai-Smith, Berryman, Alexandroupolis and Comstock I demonstrate how the combined synergies between kaupapa Māori and critical methodologies can be harnessed to form a reciprocally mutual relationship (Comstock, 2007, p. 5). In this manner issues of 'pernicious impact' such as the blending of critical and kaupapa are mitigated.

As an intersectoral approach, Critical Kaupapa Māori enables a discussion of how institutions, disciplines are fused, bringing together 'Western' disciplines-philosophies contextualised by a Kaupapa Māori framework. The importance of this approach is the discovery of the actions, the conduct and activities of James Mackay Jnr. To apply a singular conceptual framework to this study would have resulted in the failure of revealing the relational aspects of Mackay's strategies, I would have missed his personal dealings with specific Hauraki rangatira and their iwi, his relationship with the Crown, the judiciary and legislators, his cousin the government geologist. I would have missed the strategies he applied within the Native Land Court that reconstructed the whakapapa of Ngāti Tokanui. The revealing of his strategies required the fusing of kaupapa Māori and Critical Theory.

4.3.1 Aligning: the narrative strands

Māori practices, methods and methodologies are applicable across the widest range of the learning experience. When I set out on this journey, I could not find a methodology of analysing and binding disparate, dissimilar theories alongside Kaupapa methods into this study. This I found in Smith's thesis on Kaupapa Māori: Theory and Praxis. His work is an exemplar for academia as a whole, as a study it is vitally important to Māori students studying Māori, culture, and identity: it is important to iwi groups undertaking praxis actions. However, I could not find how he constructed the connections to bridge the gap between the world of iwi kaupapa to education and sociology the later the 'home' of critical theory and praxis. And so, I had to construct a pathway a roadmap with clear markers as to how and why I connected tūpuna narrative as kaupapa Māori concepts to praxis: sociology and anthropology. Originally, I had commenced this study in the Sociology Department of the University of Waikato however, the Kaupapa Māori elements of this study created a conundrum. Terms such as praxis and critical are principle cornerstones of sociology, this raised questions of how to 'align' core sociological concepts with the world of iwi cultural ethnic constructs.

At a basic level I could not find equivalent methods for praxis and its relationship to tūpuna narratives, how could this be? At the time I did not realise that I was attempting

to affix markedly diverse, incongruent cultural perspectives and there did not seem to exist the method, the wherewithal tools to do so. Further, persisting in the background were Pathak's cautions that "narcissism can sometimes overwhelm the narrative project." This project could implode into something about self and the story of an individual. To allay these issues and with much trepidation, I changed schools. 5 years of study and establishing respectful peer relationships, seemingly dissipated. Affirmatively, the move to Māori and Indigenous Studies represented a praxian change at a personal, a cultural, a political level I could bring not only the world of sociology but the concepts of my undergraduate 'papers' that of political science, anthropology, psychology, Māori development and interweave these with kaupapa Māori.

As scholars, from time to time, we have journeyed between disciplinary constellations appropriating methods to fit the overall research objectives: this pragmatism leads to what Patton (2002:257) has called a "paradigm of choices" which relates to a mixed-*method* approach and requires a stringent "justification about the research procedures ability to meet the overall project goals." This approach to research design accepts that quantitative, qualitative and mixed research are all superior and it is the researcher's task to make the decision about which method will be applied (in Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p 22-23). I do not intend to discuss "the incompatibility between paradigm and narrative theory" (Josselson & Lieblich, 2010), neither to discuss that methods of choice must match the research goals, the point is raised to highlight how the indiscriminate mix and matching be it a discipline, theory, or method without reference to tikanga-the laws of what is right for the research community negates the principles of Kaupapa Māori.

4.3.2 The Kaupapa of Critical: aligning difference

Tūpuna Narrative study injects difference into the structure of criticism this is how Critical Theories are developed.

When we think about the differences between 'critical' (southern Marxism) and 'kaupapa' (indigenous Māori) how then, might one 'rightly' ask can this study be premised on two distinctly different philosophical approaches each originating from the extreme ends of the globe divided by geographical distance, cultural

practice, ethnic traditions and social mores, and secondly what has the alignment of two seemingly disparate theories got to do with iwi identity?

Berryman points out “the need to keep each separate but to recognise each framework in its own right, maintaining the mana (integrity) of each as we acknowledge the frameworks that we draw on” (Berryman, 2013, p. 8). Recognising the separateness, honouring each framework in its own right are lofty goals and to this, I would add the accurate defining of the theoretical approaches, their whakapapa origins, no matter their cultural-historical and social source. This study supports Berryman’s contention “that a critical framework must be connected to the complex, historical, and cultural realities of participants.” My reading of Berryman’s statement is that a critical framework takes into account the historical and cultural realities of both the researcher and the researched.

From Comstock’s study, we see how critical methodology “is founded on the principle that all men and women (iwi) are potentially active agents in the construction of their social worlds and their personal lives” that they can be the ‘subjects, rather than the objects, of socio-historical processes Gibson (1986) in (Pihama, 2001). Praxis projects are born out of historical contradictions epitomised by an increasing ‘dissatisfaction leading to a period of intense political consciousness and the shifting of ‘mindset’ (Berryman, 2013) requiring revolutionary change. In this world of ‘mix and match,’ the cautions of Comstock (2007) must be taken into account where he warns against the mismatching of theory and research “we cannot apply positivist concepts to critical research” critical theories require. My take of what Comstock is advocating is the need to keep critical sciences separate from positivist science. The differences between positivist and critical science are vast and are summarised in a table format further on in this study.

Kaupapa Māori philosophies have been established for over a millennium underpinned by principals that espouse the cultural worldview of indigenous New Zealand. As a contextualising instrument, Kaupapa Māori arbitrates matters of truth claims in the search for knowledge and inevitably justice. Research studies are not ‘ends’ in themselves, they are not intended for filling shelves, they have a

purpose which is to change and transform society. The overarching goal for kaupapa research is to provide Māori communities with the tools to conscientise and complete the praxis journey.

4.3.3 Raranga: Interweaving modalities

Any political and academic discussion of issues on iwi, culture and identity are spoken of in the same breath as colonization, the oppressed, gender and class. It is recognized that iwi, culture and identity can be combined with other social relations of power so that they mediate and intensify each other, for these are the experiences of colonized societies such as iwi that exist within a world defined by another culture (Bannerji, 2014). Laden with their cultural, social and historical specificities new theories are created at the point of overlap. Where the strands cross at that point of convergence they transform ‘metamorphosing’ into newly developed forms of knowing. According to Bannerji (2014), this is often expressed through the concept of ‘intersectoral’ in which specific strands of social relations and ideological practices of difference and power ‘are seen as’ arising in their own specific social terrain each determined by their cultural and historical experiences.

Erenora Puketapu-Hetet stated that “weaving is more than just a product of manual skills. No matter the complexity from the simple rourou-food basket to the prestigious kahukiwi [kiwi feather cloak], weaving is endowed with the very essence of the spiritual values of Māori people. The ancient Polynesian belief is that the artist is a vehicle through whom the gods create" (Erenora Puketapu-Hetet, 1989, p.2).

I muri nei, ‘in long ago’ time iwi utilised tukutuku as a structural member, buttressing the wharenui. For our iwi, the tukutuku are the receptacles of tūpuna narratives. Drawing on my experiences of the rebuild of Te Awapu, the wharenui of our Marae, I apply the construction of the tukutuku panel as a mode of connecting the above disciplines, of making sense of the phenomenon under examination. Kelly Harrison of Ngāti Porou was responsible for the construction of the Tukutuku panels within the wharenui, she led a team of 25 iwi weavers. Kelly descends from Patariki and Hinemoa Harrison respected tohunga-master

carver and weavers in their own right. The tukutuku panels are beautiful, they are a vibrant mix of ancient and modern themes, stories of modern age technology sit alongside the ancient ‘niho taniwha’ as such, many of the designs are unique to Ngahutoitoi.

The method of harvesting and preparing the kiekie and pingao was conducted under strict tikanga. The strands were selected (conceptual method), at times, for their difference (application and role) of colour (the phenomenon under study), of length (the requirements for change) and of texture (do they align to the process of praxis).

The weaving process requires two persons positioned either side of the tukutuku frame in a face to face arrangement. A single strand of pingao is passed through a parallel slat, it is received and returned to form a designated pattern. This procedure of receiving and returning continues until the panel is completed. It is this method of tukutuku, in the manner of the weavers at Ngahutoitoi Marae that I have brought to this study to enable the methodology of interweaving disparate theories and concepts, of interweaving past narratives into the present, the method of structuring the thesis, the method of interweaving critical with kaupapa.

4.3.4 Interstitching: crisscross, weaving story into narrative

The principle of whānaungatanga galvanizes the convergence of theory by inter-stitching strands taken from the disciplines of Anthropology, Cultural Studies and Sociology. Metaphorically, where the strands crisscross over each other ‘intersectorally,’ or aggregatively they create not only a coming together of issues, but new solutions to long-held, unresolved, historical and social contradictions are established (Bannerji, 2014). I apply the kaupapa methods of ‘whatu’ and ‘raranga’ to understand how strands of the inter-disciplinary are linked interweaving iwi together as one narrative, one korowai of work. The poutama designs within the tukutuku panels are interfacing staircases which symbolise the journey of achieving ultimate excellence: the final ascent of tūpuna to Hawaikinui Hawaiki Pamamou (Kelly Harrison, personal communication,1992). When overlaid poutama, on poutama, they take the shape of a twisted ladder. The tighter the weave the closer the interweaving of the spiralling staircase which forms a

double helix, the ‘deoxynucleic spiral,’ the basis of all chromosomal life (Paraire Huata, personal communication, 2002). This is the foundation of the structure of whakapapa of thinking relations and connections as to how we come to know, and as creating what we know (Abstracted from Hall, in Morley, 1996, pp.46-48). Whakapapa is the most important element of meaning-making, of making connections and understanding how relationships are formed.

Whakapapa is based on genetic truth and as such, it cannot be changed, falsified, and or forged and when we repeat falsifications, we unwittingly perpetuate untruths and when referenced as a scholastic endeavour we contribute to the documents’ validity. Regrettably, whakapapa can be falsely represented: over the latter part of completing the research for this thesis I discovered a false representation of the Tokanui whakapapa. This ‘stolen’ whakapapa and the implications for Ngāti Koi are discussed at length in Chapter 6, Section 2 titled Mackay.

4.4 Critical Theory

An abiding critique of critical theory is that it is extremely hard to categorize for it combines social, cultural, historical and political economy, literary stylistics - interpretive theory, crossing boundaries between academic disciplines and fields. Over the past two decades, postcolonial theory has been ‘upstaged’ by its west Europe counterpart “resulting in critical theory ‘going global.” Frantz Fanon in Algeria, Arrundi Roy in India, Linda Tuhiwai-Smith in New Zealand [authors *my* inclusion] all contribute voices of unique cultural experiences expanding its global and multicultural reach. What we end up with is a proliferation of critical theory.

For Kellner, this creates a highly contestable terrain, unnecessarily exposing the framework to criticisms” (Kellner, 1989). From the position of this study, this is seen as a positive development in that it adds to, it enhances the theoretical knowledge base, the reference points for the cultural ethnographer.

As a genre of writing autoethnography connects the personal to the cultural by placing the self within a socio-cultural context and within a historical timeframe. As Māori scholars, we are pushed to believe that the absence of voice is the

highest most legitimate form of scholarship, and we are continually denied intellectual validity because we use our own experiences as the location of analysis (Pathak, 2010, p.1). Auto-ethnography calls me to enable and allow me to explore and make sense of my world. It enables me to explore the world I have lived in because praxis requires that change occurs within the individual as the first prerequisite, its primary goal being the collective the group, inspired to change, through the actions of an individual (Pathak,.2010, p. 3).

Ethnography as Autoethnography enables me to position myself within this study, to make sense of the world I live in and gives voice to my life (Pathak, 2010, p. 1). It involves highly personalised accounts where the author draws on their own experiences to explore and understand a social phenomenon being examined. It is a genre of writing and research that connects the personal to the cultural (Reed-Dunahay 1997 in Holt 2003. p.2) by placing the self within a social context and within a historical timeframe. It is an approach that seeks to describe and systematically analyse personal experience in order to understand cultural experiences. Adams Holman Jones: 2008 maintain that "Autoethnography as a method is both a process as well as a product" in (Ellis, 2010, p. 2).

By utilizing this method, I am able to graphically tell a story based on lived personal experiences in a manner that treats research as a politically, a socially just and a socially conscious act for this is my story: it is the story of my family, whānau, hapū and iwi. A central interest of this is in examining the stories as told by Te Keepa Raharuhi, chief of the Ngāti Koi, and the reinterpretation of cultural identities and social representation that occurred as a result of Colonial institutional practices.

Critical ethnography is not just criticism "nor is it to be confused with critical theory associated with the Frankfurt School, which is a theory of capitalist society" (Thomas, 1993, p8). Critical ethnography from the perspective of this thesis has a political purpose in that it attempts to connect "the meanings of the meanings to broader structures of power and control" (Phfol & Gordon in Thomas, 1993, p.6). Ethnography provides unique methods for looking beyond the surface, for questioning the "taken-for-granted, and reproduces them in a way

that exposes broader social processes of control and power imbalance" (Thomas, 1993, p. 9)

Critical ethnography begins with an ontological argument "which is grounded empirically in explicit prior evidence, of a variety of debilitating social conditions that provide the departure point." This does not mean that the outcomes and research results are predetermined, "critical ethnography requires pre-prepared texts featuring dialogue, discourse, writing in the first person, emotion and self-consciousness as relational and institutional stories affected by history, social structure and culture: because naming things and how they occur are important to critical ethnography" (Holt, 2003, p.2).

Interpretivism maintains that the world is constructed, interpreted and experienced by people in their interactions with their environment (Weber, 2012, p. 3). Interpretive research focuses on identifying, documenting, 'knowing' the interpretation of worldviews, values, meanings, beliefs, thoughts and the general characteristics of life events, situations, ceremonies and specific phenomena under investigation.

4.4.1 Interpretivism

This study takes an interpretive approach based on the symbolic construction of culture because I seek to produce a study where meaning matters: an approach where human action is meaningful and historically contingent (Geertz, 1973). I do so by constructing an interpretation which goes beyond a single whānau-iwi frame of reference to consider the ways tūpuna narratives become a generative centre of power intersecting with societal and institutional relations of power. These matters are largely about culture and I argue that any construction of culture must be done so from the perspectives of iwi as it 'they' who understand how tikanga practices, tūpuna narratives make meaning, how they become meaningful and in so doing they are validated by the group.

The thesis takes a qualitative meanings-centred approach and is informed by the interpretivist traditions of social anthropology. 'Interpretive studies assume that people create and associate their own subjective and intersubjective meanings as

they interact with the world around them.' Interpretive researchers thus attempt to understand phenomena by accessing the meanings participants assign to them. 'Social process is not captured in hypothetical deductions, covariances and degrees of freedom instead it is understanding: getting inside the world of those generating it' (Orlikowski, 2001).

From this perspective the descriptions and explanation of the social world refer to subjective meanings: this means that these methods rely on linguistic, rather than, numerical data. Interpretivism employs meanings-based theories and methods rather than statistical forms of data analysis, there is a preference to distinguish between measuring things with words, tūpuna narratives, interpretation of actions as opposed to measuring them in numbers. These are the essential characteristics of a Kaupapa Māori methodology. Of centrality to a Kaupapa Māori methodology is that its 'descriptive interpretivist' (Elliott, 2005, p.147), 'qualitative elements' (Polkinghorne, 1983) "research approach places emphasis on understanding phenomenon in their own right as opposed to some outside perspective" (Elliott, 2005).

Further 'it' honours the voice of the people (Smith, 1999), (Pihama, 2001), within the research community; the researcher, the interviewee, the community supporting the research throughout the duration of the process. As outlined in the previous chapters this study is about cultural identity formation. The research questions I have pose fall within what Elliot (2005, p. 148) describes as a" generic approach that emphasise common practices" a methodology that is posited within a Kaupapa Māori worldview.

Features of an 'interpretive method' are open interview procedures-where the objectives of the research are co-constructed. Both the participant and the Decolonising Researcher stand in a subject-subject relation, as opposed to an object-subject relationship to their 'field of study' because culture is pre-defined. The Decolonising Researcher enters a social world that exhibits symbolic cultural meanings of iwi: in the case of Ngāti Koi, conceptual mapping and interview guides were developed alongside the iwi prior to conducting the

fieldwork these were critical to understanding the historical world being researched.

Interpretivism is a term that usually denotes an alternative to the Positivist orthodoxy that has held sway for many centuries (Bryman, 2012, p. 30). The opposing philosophical stances, often termed positivism and interpretivism are the so-called basis of the 'paradigm wars' that have dominated debates about methods in many social sciences (Kelly, 2011, p. 21). It is not the intention of this study to provide an indepth discussion of the 'paradigm wars' discussed by Kelly but, to utilize this example to highlight that a divide between the two approaches continues to exist. Currently, there is considerable work being undertaken to bring the two approaches together, "however, the weight of literature is against this process occurring in the near future" (Kelly, 2011, p. 27).

4.4.2 Types of research

There are two types of research 'basic' and 'applied.' I utilise elements of both approaches for I seek to understand the ongoing nature of 'phenomenon' while at the same time providing a method for activating praxis related projects. I draw on Slavin's interpretation of 'Basic Research' this model is aimed at expanding the existing base of scientific knowledge and predictions: purely theoretical it is universally applicable (Slavin, 1992). 'Applied Research' according to Patton, (1990, p.154) and Surbhi (2016) is about 'purpose' and getting 'it' right. Practical, it seeks to respond to a specific problem, it is helpful in solving specific real-life problems through hands-on, down-to-earth methods. The important characteristic that defines this work is 'change' therefore the research approach is *basic*, in that, its motivation is on describing and explaining. It is *applied*, in that, it is seeking to change what is. I am interested in understanding change and how culture is transmitted, revitalised and preserved.

The foci of this study are iwi for I seek to describe and explain how groups of people change, transform and remake their cultural identity. I have a keen interest in cultural and sociological questions as I am more focused on social groupings-

iwi structures and how they undertake change within a system dominated by the cultural hegemony of a coloniser (Nikora, 2007).

Questions are important to complex studies they enable focus on the research topic, clarification, boundary setting and guidance. They are important to understanding the focus I have taken in this chapter. From the key disciplines referred to in this study, if we were to take a basic research approach the questions would be.

4.5 Cartesian intersections: western positivism

The pathway to the establishment of an intersectoral methodology is fraught and complex this is largely due to the influence of Cartesian positivism on the social sciences. Added to this complexity is the false binary of belief that narrative practices are 'merely' the telling of stories they are 'of the body' and therefore (experiential/anecdotal), research that is of the mind (intellectual/ abstracted/theoretical) falls into the precincts of white male scholarship. According to Pathak (2010), "this false binary is a result of the scientific imperialism that has penetrated the social sciences and this agenda is driven by 'the majority of' the dominant mainstream, yet completely denied through a positivist discourse of validity" (p.5). Therefore, translation gives over for analysis, narrativity gives over to theorising, embodied makes way for rationality. Tūpuna narrative practices, such as the giving of evidence as Kaupapa Māori sciences are all these things, experiential, anecdotal-intellectual, theoretical they are not one or the other, they do not originate from a single male, they are bequested by cosmogony refined by tūpuna over the many millennia.

The kaupapa-scientific grounds for finding solutions to problems under consideration remains a contentious subject and is rigorously debated by scholars and methodologists, the reasons rest on what Josselson & Lieblich (2003) define as "the competing interest between Cartesian positivism and phenomenological-narrative inquiry" (Josselson & Lieblich, 2003, p.2). Cartesian philosophy is fundamental to modern consciousness: western worldview. Its scientistic – mathematical principles have permeated disciplines beyond the natural sciences and mathematics. Its founder "Rene Descartes theorized that the mental, spiritual and physical aspects of human beings were separate and distinct,

compartmentalized in the mind rationalised through the logic of a mathematics-based formula" (Styres, 2017). "Cartesian based Neo-Liberalism is the dominant ideology [of the west], and global capitalism (Flew. 2014, p.2). "Underpinned by Cartesian philosophy Neo-Liberalism is the modern form of colonialism in both its goals and execution" (Grossberg, 2015).

Neo-Liberalism tells us nothing about the world, it does help us understand the particular forms or configurations, particular economic generated struggles such as poverty, the barbarity of the monied colonizer, it does not help us to understand the forces that enable conjunctures to happen in the specific way that it is" (Grossberg, 2015). Complicating the application of the methodology is the division of the domains of inquiry. This division presents as a split in the methodological domain of inquiry which is divided into two fields, qualitative and or quantitative research, added to this according to Josselson and Lieblich old approaches such as the jargon and patterns of writing research studies, are unsuitable for the purpose of the narrative study.

Because the word 'method' has become shrouded with what might be read as a kind of mystical reverence, as though the procedure, rather than the thinking, produces knowledge. Narrative practitioners such as Josselson and Lieblich (2010), have dropped the word completely from their teachings on the subject of narrative. As Nikora points out:

> At the centre of this debate are two competing inquiry paradigms. The first is that of logical-positivism, which uses quantitative and experimental methods to test hypothetical-deductive generalizations, and whose end objective is prediction and control. The second is that of phenomenological inquiry which uses qualitative and naturalistic approaches to inductively and holistically understand human experience in context-specific settings (Nikora, 2007, p.135).

In my review of the literature, the following studies have guided my thinking on and around this subject. I do not intend to discuss their merits here; however, it is important to highlight studies on kaupapa and qualitative research germane to this work so that the reader might understand how I have arrived at the approach taken

in this research; Smith, 2010: Decolonising Methodologies, Bogdan & Taylor, 1975; Clarifying Qualitative Research. Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research is a comprehensive critical inquiry Josselson & Lieblich, 2010, 2003. In their development of the continual method of comparative analysis Glaser and Strauss, (1967) developed what they call 'grounded theory' which is qualitative data systematically gathered and analysed. Given the depth of ethnographic focus to this study Murphy & Dingwall, (1994) their study which focuses on ways we ought to treat each other as human beings, within a research relationship, are not distinct from the ethics and values that should prevail in everyday society.

The differences between Positivism–Cartesian, Critical Theory and Kaupapa Māori – Critical Kaupapa Māori are numerous, they are complex and multifaceted, I have summarised the key components of each approach in the following table as a way of managing the complex and extensive material. To ensure equity I have selected the same criteria across the three approaches.

Table 4.1: Comparative analysis: Key conceptual approaches

Positivism	**Critical Theory**	**Critical Kaupapa Māori**
Epistemology**:** Knowledge Measurable predictable. Quantifiable through scientific method. Cartesian foundations. Society is an objective phenomenon, ahistorical ***Society*** based on individual rights ***The nature of research***	***Epistemology*****:** Subjectivity phenomenon based. The researcher brings and creates knowledge. Interdisciplinary, brings together philosophy, musicology, arts. Psychoanalysis ***A society*** based on individual/s sum of parts. ***The nature of research*** "Develops an interpretive understanding of	***Epistemology*****:** Subjective, Inter-subjective, Holistic. Anti-paradigmatic: Critical understanding of "intersubjective" agreements values motives held by all groups in the setting (Seale, 2003) ***Society*** represents the whole collective, greater than individual parts. Society is both subject and object it is cosmologically inscribed culturally enacted.

Identifies a scientific problem by studying the results of past empirical and theoretical work apriori knowledge – presumption, Law-based. Develops measures data –based on previous research 'own common sense' Gathers data through experiments, existing records and texts, Reductive analyses data to test the hypothesis. focus on metaphysics and epistemology. (Stanford EoP, 2003) ***As a Researcher*:** Preference to stand and observe from behind a glass wall, I am removed from society. I am, therefore, I am. A leaf is a leaf. A table is a table. I see it, I know it is. (Comstock, 2007, p. 54)	intersubjective meaning, values motives held by all groups in the setting" Persuasion towards Horkheimer paradigmatic approach for the interdisciplinary character of research. Constructs models of the relations between social conditions, intersubjective interpretations of those conditions, and participants' actions. Principle and ethics-based theory and methodology ***As a Researcher*:** I am composed of many identities historically contrived and socially defined. If I cannot taste and or know if I cannot claim it is a leaf, I make research judgements based on history and experience, I identify modes of subjugation the objective to change through a process of critical praxis (Comstock, 2007, p. 388)	***The nature of research*** Composed of many complex elements, 'Comes to know how meaning is made by immersion, becoming competent (Berryman, 2013, p. 3) Principle and ethics-based theory and methodology The researcher is known, related to contributors ***As a Researcher*:** Composed of many different identities including all things Te Ao Māori, cosmological geographical, and historical. I make principle-based judgement calls on information gifted from Tūpuna, based on kaupapa, by the persons, for the person being researched their whānau and their community. "I am a leaf, [my words] a leaf is me" (Barrett in Berryman, 2013, p. 11).
Reflection disdains reflection, self-reflection. One dimension of knowledge Knowledge is imperialistic and halts all other forms of knowing.	***Reflection (Critical)*** dialectical changes the course of history. Reflective in 'struggles' to attain knowledge. Does not operate in a vacuum influenced by social grouping, influences the social conditions it was	**'*Reflection (Critical)*** 'dialogic'- 'dialectical' Does not operate in a vacuum reflection is acted on by both the researcher and researched melds into one element, does not perceive relationships as a dichotomous dynamic of 'power over'. The researcher

	generated from, reflects the CT attempts to explain phenomenon, Interprets, reflects on its role in society conscious of its social role and the social context that gave rise to it, Studies historical developments and the current social structures that constrain actions and shape understandings.	is perceived as 'an empty vessel' "research is co-constructed" Disdains: isolation, unknowing subjects Seeks emancipation and radical change Preference; in the thick of it.
Ontology*:* the nature and relations of being - determinism	***Ontology****:* Critical realism believes that reality exists "out there" Foucault any science that fails to reflect on its origins, context and interest remains blind.	***Ontology*** "out there" "in me" metaphysical, ' (Berryman, 2013, p. 24) (Glynn in Berryman, 2013, p.46).
Theoretical base: Value-free, apolitical the individual distinct roles of scientist, citizen, parent, member each separated without one influencing the other ***Methodology:*** tracks societal trends and changes through apprehending data ***Prediction and control*** Develops hypothesis, tests against empirical data, generalising prediction and control. "Deterministic, probabilistic relations between phenomenon."	***Theoretical base:*** Critical, Psychoanalysis ***Methodology:*** Transformative, answers should be how we should live, the status quo is critiqued and attacked Needs to know what is happening in a particular society at a particular time. As Interpretivism it seeks, enables things cultural and an understanding why things operate.	***Theoretical base:*** Kaupapa Māori. Critical. Ethnographic Anthropology: Interpretivist, Auto ethnographical. ***Methodology:*** Narrative. eschews methodology. transformative Embedded in the cultural worldview of Te Ao Māori. Wants to know why and how things operate. Applies laws and principles of the natural world to guide the method and application of theory (Josselson & Lieblich, 1998)
Researcher interface	***Researcher interface***	***Researcher interface***

Objectifies the group and people s/he studies. Enlightens in an authoritarian way. imposing on them his/her understandings of the truth.	Dialectical. Theory and fact interact in a dialectical historical process. The way the world is and our perceptions of it reciprocally determines each other. The social scientist operates in a dialectical communicative way results in the enlightenment of the researcher and the social group. Weberian "a science which aims at the interpretive understanding of social conduct and thus at the explanation of its causes, its course and its effects." Elucidates fundamental contradictions. Compare, critique, discover (Comstock, 2007, p. 54)	Research is gifted, the results are perceived as a collaboration enriching both the educational outputs, the spiritual and emotional elements of the researcher. (Morris in Berryman, 2013, p. 54).
Cartesian – 1596 Theories remain unaffected by the material to be known, governed by objective rules, the subject has an authoritarian relation towards the object. Habermas and Adorno criticised these positions as generating World War 11. The social scientist treats the world as the outcome of objective laws, unalterable and a-historical, leads to self-objectification as s/he is the subject of these laws as well.	**Of Marxist origins: 1930s** Self-reflection on its existence and the social milieu. Seeks to gain insights into the hidden conditions and structures that oppress human life, alienated from the products of its labour imposing inhumane ways of living. action - reflection - action - praxis Thesis - Antithesis – synthesis	**Of iwi origins** Dialectical interface-predates 6 October 1769. Not just theory Kaupapa Māori is praxis driven action – critical reflection - action - praxis
Hobbes. 1588 Descartes. 1596	Created from disillusionment the ambiguities of positivism	Kaupapa Māori from tūpuna, Māori, iwi cosmogony

Locke. Aug 1632 Spinoza. Nov 1632 Kant. 1724.	and the limitations of Marxism that key determinants of social theory cannot be based on social class and economic factors alone	Critical Kaupapa Māori Tuhiwai Smith, Hingangaroa Smith no te iwi, mo te iwi from the iwi, for the iwi
Colonisation: - Restricted to instrumentality, Means-end reality One-off False belief that natural and social worlds are unalterable and objective an effective weapon moving the colonised to a state of humanity taking their rightful place on the great chain of being. Downloaded from Academia Edu. (Alexandropoulos, 2014)	**Colonisation** Eradication and Control, Labour power into the world to control the natural world. Understanding of meaning – symbolic interaction Relations of domination, of power relations that suppress communication, alienate and suppress the subjects. Emancipatory knowledge-constitutive interest: dialectical ability to bring about change and amelioration of human condition. Rejects any and all forms of domination". Downloaded from Academia edu. (Alexandropoulos, 2014)	**Colonisation** Ongoing. Act of war. Settlers are colonisers, repatriate resources land wealth The paradox of colonisation: participate in 'a new economy' - alienation extreme pauperisation Paradox of colonisation new language, culture - annihilation of iwi identity through the obliteration of cultural infrastructure, social mores, geography Establishes liberatory research pathways, Resistance to domination and power exerted by researcher, imperialism.

From the above comparative analysis: narrative study necessitates a qualitative approach because Kaupapa Māori and Critical Theory deal, foremostly, with the illumination of hidden conditions that oppress and alienate through critical reflection they create the conditions for transformative change.

4.5.1 Individualism: naming the etymology

The way we define ourselves reflects our society and the structures of power at play. The maxim crafted by Rene Descartes (1596-1650) “I am, therefore, I am” (Decartes, 1998) epitomises the ‘individualistic nature of 15th Century European society.’ It remains a key feature of Western traditions and civilization some Five hundred years later. “Individualism dominates self-definitions in Western cultures” (Jetten, 2002) and places ultimate value on the individual person (Oyserman & Coon, 2002, p. 5). “No other intellectual tradition has been as intensively preoccupied with singling out and defining the individual self than Western philosophy. Individualism is a defining characteristic of our present civilization alongside capitalism, materialism and global expansion” (Wagner, 1995). No other tradition has been more criticised for its “individualistic” value’ orientation (Nikora, 2007), (Durie, 1984), (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). Constructed by Descartes in 17th century France his philosophies were fine-tuned in the salons of ‘enlightened’ Europe. His maxim ‘I am, therefore, I am’, was imported to the United States of America manufactured as individualism and exported to the world for the next four centuries. The 19th-century French intellectual Alexis de Tocqueville elaborated on the concept of individualism based on his travels throughout the United States of America. He drew strict connections with democracy in American society and contrasted the American social structure with those found in the aristocratic European traditions (Triandis, 2013, p. 14).

The individualism/collectivism dichotomy is a theoretical framework in which cultures can be classified on the basis of their social activities (Diz, 2009). According to Triandis, individualists prefer independence, uniqueness, maintain relationships when the costs do not outweigh the benefits, pursue personal goals over the goals of collectives. People in collectivist cultures perceive their ingroups as homogeneous and the opposite pattern is found among members of individualistic cultures. Collectivists emphasize values that promote the value of their in-group, whereas individualists emphasize values that promote individual goals (Triandis & Hui, 1990, p. 1). From the findings of their meta-research, which spanned 5 continents, Hui and Triandis propose that the definition of “collectivism is the subordination of individual goals to the goals of a collective, a sense of harmony, interdependence and concern for others. Individualism then is

the subordination of the goals of the collective to individual goals and a sense of independence and lack of concern for others" (Hui, 1986, p. 20).

The findings of the 'Hui' study are laudable however, the methodology applied was oriented towards individualistic values key among these were the selection criteria of the research focus groups these were the nuclear family, the neighbour, the friend, people who are primarily concerned about themselves and their immediate family. The targetting of individuals demonstrates how 'individualism' pervades the most sophisticated of research. By comparing the principles utilised in Hui's study against kaupapa Māori principles highlight the individualistic basis of Hui's study and incompatibility with Kaupapa Māori methods of research.

Table 4.2: Comparing modes: kaupapa Māori vs Western-centric values

Values guiding Hui's meta-study:	Kaupapa Māori principles
"Consideration of implications (costs and benefits) of one's own decisions and/or actions for other people.	"Wairuatanga: spiritual embodiment
Sharing of material resources	Manaakitanga: the duties and expectations of caring
Sharing of non-material resources	Tiaki, Awhi: the duties and expectations of sharing and caring.
Susceptibility to social influence	Rangatiratanga: leadership, the hierarchical nature of traditional Māori society
Sharing of outcomes	Whakawhānaungatanga: Spanning time from cosmogony to the yet to be born incorporating reciprocity obligations of care and protection, the Collective is responsible for each individual
Feelings of involvement in others' lives" (Hui, 1986) .	Kotahitanga: collective unity" (McNatty, 2001)

When we compare kaupapa principles with the values guiding Hui's study:

> Kaupapa Māori espouse a wider view of collectivism to the extent they are incompatible with the variables set out in Hui's study,
>
> Kaupapa Māori principles are dichotomous to individualism and western theoretical constructs.
>
> The methodology of Hui's study demonstrates the pervasiveness of individualist orientations of western-based research approaches.

> Individualism which is the basis of positivist research continues to dominate western research practices. The study conducted by Hui and Triandis' was overarching it crossed international borders, it was longitudinal taking many years to complete, it took-into-account a range of social situations.
>
> From an auto-ethnographical perspective, it simply maintained the research space for western research methodologies practices and sadly principles.

4.5.2 Subject-Object

According to Schwandt (2007), *the subject* is a being that has full consciousness they are in control of their world, behaviours and personal experiences, *the object* is its opposite: it is a being that is controlled defined and lives for another. Applied within a research environment the subject-object binary circumscribes an unequal power relationship between researcher, the subject, and those being researched, the object. The concept of subject and object is an important aspect of critical theory, Comstock (1994) posits that the world of critical research is one premised on a relationship of subject to subject where the researcher and researched are equal, in this regard kaupapa Māori principles are compatible because the decolonising researcher has an intimate understanding of the communities, the historical-socio-cultural contexts they work in, highly political contexts. By forming a research whānau (community) helps to eliminate issues of the objectification of the subject.

4.6 Kaupapa of Positioning

This thesis takes the position that praxis-based studies seeking to analyse iwi, identity and culture should do so from the methodologies, the philosophical underpinnings of critical kaupapa Māori. To date, studies have selected research concepts based on a 'mix and match' approach from across a wide range of disciplines with minimal explanation of, the method in itself, the positioning of the author in relationship to the methods applied. Focus has tended to be on the concept with scant regard of the context, the discipline, the etymology of the concept being applied. This tendency adds little value to the work of theorising it has even less impact on the communities it is intended for.

In this study, I have aligned the 'critical' theories of the Frankfurt School, to the conceptual constellation of Kaupapa Māori for I seek to demonstrate how this alignment creates an effective method of investigation. At the outset, it is important to discuss the etymology of interweaving indigenous Kaupapa Māori with Western philosophy. This stems, to a large extent, from my childhood experiences and the adherence to tikanga practices by our parents against the dogmatic tyranny of 'the Church.' Life was to be a balanced blend of what our parents considered the good things in life where kaupapa and Christian values were interwoven. However, the melding they envisaged did not occur, English culture dominated how we viewed and understood the world. From within this clamour, a voice question's my approach to this study it warns: am I transposing the practices and ideology of colonisation? Am I perpetuating the pernicious harm I so desperately seek to erase? What am I bringing to this study? Is this scholarship, or is this just 'me search?' (Pathak, 2010).

4.6.1 Positioning the subject researcher: with-in and with-out this study

One of the downsides of writing a study on praxis and identity is that these concepts descend from Western theorists. Somehow, it seemed easy to parrot the existing literature with minimal questioning as to why I chose to draw from those scholastic spaces dominated by 'white western males.' According to Pathak (2010) narrative practice as autoethnography disrupts the traditional academic voice but, as academic writing carries with it the possibility of creating the conditions of pernicious, unintentional harm (p,3) in that it enables the obscuring of the social and cultural assumptions held by the researcher (Harvey, 1990, p.4).

As a Māori researcher and academic Tuhiwai Smith (1999) has written:

> "academic writing is a form of selecting, arranging and presenting knowledge. It privileges sets of texts, views about the history of an idea, what issues count as significant and, by engaging in the same process uncritically, we too can render indigenous writers invisible or unimportant while reinforcing the validity of other writers" and the cultural perspectives they represent. In this regard "writing is more than thinking critically about our writing it can also be dangerous because we reinforce

> and maintain a style of discourse which is never innocent" (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, p.36).

Affixing Smith's methodology to my desktop served as a 'tohu' forcing me into the constant questioning of the assumptions behind the approaches to my research, why this conceptual framework and not that, and importantly of questioning 'where does this story fit on the praxis cycle? In their work on 'teacher research' Jones and Brown (2001) refer to this as reflexive practice "as leaders of the project, we worked at making both our espoused and covert theoretical assumptions transparent we acknowledged the need to maintain ongoing critique of reflexive practice by scrutinising the power dynamics within our relationships as co-researchers and those embedded in our relationships with co-researchers." For Smith as researchers we "have the power to distort, to make invisible, to overlook, to exaggerate and to draw conclusions, based not on factual data, but on assumptions, hidden value judgments, and often downright misunderstandings" (T. Smith, 1999, p. 176).

I do believe that my lived experiences help shape and inform theories about colonisation and in utilizing myself as text I engage in a meaningful, rigorous analysis underpinned by the conceptual narratives of auto-ethnography and kaupapa Māori. We lived in a home enfolded in a korowai of kaupapa the stories and values of the Covenanters contextualised by the tikanga narratives practised by our parents. Therefore, in this same manner, I apply a korowai of kaupapa methodology to define the political, physical and socio-cultural parameters of the stories being told.

4.6.2 Positioning the language: method, mode, modality

In this section, I discuss Kaupapa Māori methods of research aligned with narrative study. This work is theory-based therefore in this context 'method' should not be confused with specific research techniques such as data collection and analysis, face to face interviews. I utilise the term in a general sense to describe the ways and approaches I have adopted and refined to study Ngāti Koi such as constructing and evaluating, realigning and amalgamating disciplines and the resultant theories.

According to Josselson and Lieblich, narrative study is a new way of working its terminology is new as an example; storyteller is replaced by narrator, observation with co-construction, method with mode, methodology with modality" (Josselson & Lieblich, 2003, p.3), They further note that "in narrative study 'modes of thought' replaces a paradigmatic 'siloed' approach the aim is to create interpreted rich descriptions of the rich and multi-layered meanings of historical events. There are no prescribed infallible means for unearthing and creating meanings. The qualitative/narrative researcher eschews methodolatry in favour of doing what is necessary to capture the lived experience of people in terms of their meaning-making" (Ibid. p.3)

The practice of applying narrational imagery and metaphorical device to make sense of complex socio-cultural phenomenon is not a recent practice. Scholars have utilised these approaches to augment their work for the longest time. Hall (1996) applies the theory of articulation in its adjectival sense as an "articulated truck to help our understanding of who is doing the (driving) speaking, organizing, advertising and secondly as a form of connection and linkages between articulated discourse and social forces. These are not random associations they are complex structural relations that by their very nature yield structured relations of dominance and subordination" (Hall, in Morley et al. 1996, p. 115). For Grossberg (2015), Hall's theory of articulation is the production of identity on top of differences, of unities out of fragments of structures across practices. It links this practice to that effect, this text to that meaning, this meaning to that reality, to that set of politics perpetually articulating into larger wider structures, in this manner Hall has defined the structural composition of colonisation. However, concepts must be appropriate to the study involved. Barth, in his celebrated treatise on ethnicity, conceptualises "ethnic boundary, group, the cultural stuff that encloses it' as a vessel device" (Barth 1969, pps. 14-15). Nagel 'modernizes Barth's 'vessel' upgrading this concept to 'shopping cart,' toolbox (Nagel, 1998, 1). This has a double jeopardy for Māori, clearly, Bath and Nagel did not include the cultural artefacts, the tikanga laws of the indigenous in their studies, the notion of intermingling tapu concepts with noa elements negates iwi Māori tikanga.

Narrational domain, field, and map are applied as metaphorical devices to move between multi-layered societal configurations analyzing power relations between the individual (iwi Māori) and macro assemblages within society. Field applies to micro-level issues such as individual, nuclear family, whānau. Domain applies to macro-level issues such as hapū iwi, the Crown, its government agencies.

4.6.3 Positioning the space: map domain field

The concepts of 'map, domain and field' are applied in this study under the principle of manaakitanga: their role is to augment the methodological approaches of the study. 'Map' is applied in this study as the society-wide plan: the diagrammatic flow, as to how the populace negotiates and moves between field and domain, between Crown institutional policy areas. The narrational fields, which define these debates, change in ways different from the narrational maps. In terms of the "time-space relation, they appear as-they-are understood as 'basic' categories of human existence" across different lived formations (Arber, 2008). However, people experience cultural and ethnic relationships differently over time entering the debates that shape them in different ways. This means to say that 'the' debates may change at a specific field-level such as government policy (The Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975) and influence a specific domain (Treaty Settlements). However, the map, be it named Western, colonisation or imperialism, remains the same. No matter the changes wrought at a domain level, no matter the fervent protests and politicizing at a field level such as the courageous hīkoi to Wellington, the changes wrought by fervent grass-roots parents and iwi Māori resulting in the establishment of Kura Kaupapa Māori. These practices, significant as they are, are inscribed within the same map, the map that bears the name Crown - its markings, configurations and ownership have not changed since their first invasion.

Critical kaupapa Māori changes the map, its ownership; it redefines the domains by changing the narrational fields. Cautions are advised when utilizing 'field' 'domain' and 'map' as a conceptual tool. While they have their advantages, they carry various pitfalls and the possibility of derailing the thesis project as a whole. From a Kaupapa Māori perspective 'domain and field are inherently unstable they

are implicated with essentialist ancestries of something enclosed and bounded, paradigmatic and siloed. Additionally, these concepts are deficient in terms of their ability to examine the in-between spaces and what links and binds specific power relations. By their very composition, they are incapable of defining and measuring the important peripheral and in-between spaces. The relationship between key social actors and institutional practice is not totally dialectical (Smith, 1997. 29) as a cultural phenomenon they become dialogical, something spoken, occurring outside of dialectical, praxian interchange. In this manner our ability to untangle and examine the linkages and structural relations between the Crown and its 'on the ground coloniser-agent Chief Crown Negotiator,' as discussed in chapter 6, is problematic and arduous it requires appropriate Western concepts interwoven with kaupapa Māori narrative approaches to make sense of and understand how colonisation is embedded and perpetual.

4.6.4 Knowing the research community: positives of kaupapa

The nature and inquiry lines of Critical Kaupapa Māori work at a macro-micro field level of analysis, importantly it is to work intersectorally bringing 'whole of' departments together - interdisciplinary collaboration, it is about fusing the physical-discipline, the theoretical and methodological gaps through the principles of whakapapa and whānaungatanga and the values of 'whāngai' – adopt, 'manaaki' – support.

From a positivist perspective, researcher bias must be eliminated at all costs: the researcher must enter the research environment completely unbiased, unknown to the subject. Research findings, field notes and reports are the sacrosanct property of the researcher. Previously it was believed that "it was better to go into the field without first reading the available literature, without knowing the people and their community being observed" (Elliott, 2005, p.148). There was the belief that the researcher would become overly familiar, 'tainted', raising the danger of not being sensitive enough to allow the data to speak for themselves in order to reveal essential features of the phenomenon. This perspective is antithetical to a Kaupapa Māori perspective, for a number of reasons. Māori, as indigenous, individuals and communities have experienced the widest gamut of disrespectful, imperialistic, arrogant behaviours from researchers and the institutions they origin from, Tuhiwai Smith is

correct that research is considered "one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary" (1999, p.1).

4.6.5 Knowing the research community: An iwi perspective

For Māori researchers, the research community is usually our iwi, whānau and hapū. The researcher becomes the kaitiaki-caretaker in a context defined by Nikora as 'existing accountability systems that are established by whakapapa and interrelatedness structures, by historical precedent, and by reciprocal obligations' (1998, p. 155). The obligations of kaitiaki as protector and guardian far exceeds the ethics and guidelines such as those set out in the 'Guidelines for Professional Practice and Community Contact in the Conduct of University Research or Related Activities, University of Waikato' because knowledge and epistemologies imparted throughout the research is rendered from iwi who received that information from their tūpuna. By granting information iwi are implicitly entrusting the responsibility of caretaker to the researcher and it is this bequesting of the role of kaitiaki that for Ngāti Koi is of equal importance to the stories being told.

This is why iwi grant consent to be researched; to speak their most private, treasured moments to say 'of' where they came from, to say their histories, to tell their stories of love, war and peacemaking, they are entrusting a role and in so doing they protect the narratives and their stories, the penultimate importance of this act. What does that mean, let me explain utilising an example from Ngāti Koi? When we set about establishing the Ngāti Koi Claimant Trust we were fighting a battle determined by the jurisprudence practices of Westminster – we needed a lawyer. Aunty Nancye Gage had heard Carrie Wainwright 'defending' the Ngai Tamarawaho and 'suggested' a number of 'us' attend their Waitangi Tribunal Hearing in Tauranga. Taking mum, dad and Aunty Nellie we arrived to hear Ms Wainwright questioning a Crown lawyer. She was persistent yet respectful, each question backed by well-investigated evidence her rendition was one of finesse and comfort reflecting the many years of representing iwi as a senior partner for a well-established law firm. On the way, home kaumātua summed her presentation as tika, tino kaha, manaakitanga, rangimārie, the word mentioned more often was that of kaitiaki. Kaumātua were clear in their trust of

her abilities, her humility regarding issues of tikanga, her mana to take iwi kaupapa before the Tribunal, foremostly her ability to protect iwi knowledges. By the end of the second week, Carrie Wainwright of Buddle Findlay was appointed to represent Wai 714, Ngāti Koi.

Kaupapa Māori provides more than a space of trust, of a free flow of ideas and information, it allows one to name the ontology, the axiology, the conceptual and methodology that shapes one's voice. It provides the conceptual tools that enable the 'decolonising researcher' to move from that place of 'comfort' which is the ceaseless describing of colonisation, or the phenomenon under research. A Kaupapa Māori space requires accountability, it is more than meeting iwi criteria, the 'decolonising researcher' demonstrates the conceptual ability to articulate methods that describe and resolves how the very nature of colonialism will be disrupted (Pathak 2010, p.5).

For iwi communities, accountability is a key principle. Research about iwi is sourced directly from the iwi: the-end-result is a co-construction between the research community and the researcher (Josselson, & Lieblich, 2003). A prerequisite of the relationship is 'openness and transparency' by the researcher. Erring of this principle, perceived or otherwise, can be met with a public reprimand. As Smith (1999) notes "whānau are the biggest critics," they are also well resourced. The closer the relationship the higher and faster the 'not so positive comments' 'fly' be it by way of email, tweet or text. The most popular medium for the outpouring of iwi judgement is that most pervasive of technoporter, Facebook. No matter the nature of the hui: accountability is expected. Managing iwi expectations is a balancing act these, at times, can be higher than the outcomes of the research. Iwi will press for regular updates questions such as; who will benefit from the research, who is involved, how much are they being paid, when will we (the iwi) receive a report are vital elements of the reporting environment. Iwi accountability can be an exacting process, and rightly so.

The preference is to enter a research environment where relationships have been previously established. 'Indigenous researchers are expected, by their

communities and by the institutions that employ them, to have some form of historical and critical analysis of the role of research in the indigenous world and to know and develop a research methodology that establishes a culture of intimately knowing each other. Positioning in Te Ao Māori is important to the work of the indigenous researcher, knowing our whakapapa links and how we fit with the 'study' is a vital tool from a Kaupapa Māori perspective, being in tune with the 'dynamics of the community is a strength of the research study' (extrapolated from Smith, 1999, pgs. 4,12).

4.6.6 A Māori Scholars perspective

Researching within the context of Hawai'i Nikora "assumed a position of acolyte to those participants who were far more experienced and knowledgeable" of the environment she was working this interweaves the important kaupapa principles of hūmārie, respect, honore and kanohi kitea (Nikora, 2007, p.369). "From the outset, the establishment of a respectful relationship is critical to the research" According to Berryman, (2013) this includes an in-depth knowledge of the communities being researched an important aspect within a Kaupapa Māori setting.

4.6.7 A Māori politician's perspective

Noted by some scholars "for his ambivalent apologist attitude towards being Māori" (Nikora, 1997, p.50), Maui Pomare was instrumental in pioneering 'a number of' political fronts for Māori. Alongside Ngata, he established the Sim Commission which inquired into land confiscations (raupatu). Under Massey's Reform government, District Māori Councils were established to complement his role as Māori Medical Officer to address substandard housing and prepare regulations for hygiene sanitation and water supply. Trained as a Doctor, he later became Minister of Health. Pomare actively worked with our iwi frequently returning to Paeroa to oversee the progress of the measures he put in place. During the flu epidemic, Ngahutoitoi was under strict quarantine for many months, our grandmother was the sole health worker. As well as preparing the many tūpāpaku for burial, she delivered medical notes for doctors, to a box on the main road some 3 km from the marae. At times the Doctor refused to handle the 'request for prescriptions' for fear of catching the 'disease.' Pomare did away with

the post box system, his notes to the Medical Officer of the Ohinemuri Borough Council admonished the behaviours of the local doctor.

The Ohinemuri River once a pristine waterway supported complex eco-systems, it provided cultural-spiritual, physical sustenance for Ngāti Koi for over a millennium. At the turn of the 19th century, the River supported four of the largest Crown gold mining operations in New Zealand, over 100,000 tonnes of raw cyanide were flushed into the River. Based in Paeroa to observe and understand the unrecognisable diseases within the Māori communities established along the River Pomare 'fought' for medical and health services to Māori and a .75-kilometre continuation of the local water reticulation scheme. After much debate Council relented a Class 2 pipe carrying water intended for cowshed use was diverted to the Ngahutoitoi settlements, this supply was terminated in 2001 (Basset Kay, 2001). In association with the Hauraki District Council, two iwi installed a sewerage and water reticulation scheme servicing 3 marae. As the project manager, I was responsible for raising funds of $150,000.00 this scheme commenced by Pomare took 100 years to complete.

Travelling by horse and buggy in rugged unforgiving terrain Pomare diligently documented iwi and their settlements cross-referencing pa along the Ohinemuri River, he 'dealt with' the many affected by the cyanide poisoning of the Ohinemuri, he was instrumental in the repealing of the Ohinemuri River: Sludge Channel Act. He worked across many government departments, his main issues of concern were health, education Māori Development. Over the past 10 or so years, the Ministry of Health has successfully established cross-cultural intersectoral ways of working, intersectoral initiatives operate within an open consensus style of working, the focus is on working in respectful, collaborative ways and respecting other points of view (Ministry of Health, 2005, p.7). My view is that these are some of the remarkable antecedents achieved by Maui Pomare.

4.6.8 Kaupapa Māori modalities: intersectoral ways of working

Pomare worked intersectorally for the benefit of Ngāti Koi. Trained as a medical Doctor, steeped in tikanga Māori he was also a gifted orator and respected government Minister. He championed the cause of Māori and in the early 1900s

was based in Paeroa to investigate diseases related to the cyanide poisoning of the Ohinemuri River. He spanned the worlds of Māori and Pākehā with infinite dignity and grace (A KauHou, personal communication, 1981). He diligently documented cross-referencing Pa, iwi and their settlements along the Ohinemuri river including Ngāti Koi. He lived in our homes and worked closely alongside rangatira of the day. At the turn of the century, Ngāti Koi rangatira were concerned at the loss of tikanga, the poisoning and health issues of the iwi that resulted from the cyanide poisoning of the Ohinemuri River. Pomare was also involved in the establishment of the iwi whakapapa document alongside the Tohunga Reha KauHou and the many Ngāti Koi rangatira who contributed to its completion. This document was handed to Hone Tiwaewae our father, by his son Alec KauHou in the mid-1980s. The extensive manuscript draws on the whakapapa of Te Taurangi and Te Tuhioterangi, it provides discussions of why and how the document was constructed (Bassett & Kay, 2001, 211).

Pomare developed a plan of action to include Ngahutoitoi Marae in the District water supply that remains in existence today, his actions were instrumental in the revoking of the Sludge Channel Act on the Ohinemuri River. At the heart of Pomare(s) methodology was the reliance on innate 'native' skills, as happens when Māori researchers work with Māori whānau, it enables connectedness - whakawhanungatanga as a traditional iwi Māori practice, traditional practices established over many hundreds of years. "Terms of cultural engagement, whether antagonistic or affiliative, are produced they are performatively-practised. The social articulation of difference, and, I add of commonness, is a complex, on-going negotiation that seeks to authorize cultural hybridity's [methodologies] that emerge in moments of historical transformation" (Bhabha, 1994, p.10).

Pomare(s) methodology exemplifies critical social research within a kaupapa Māori framework. To modern researchers seeking to make sense of the present world, I humbly say; look to the past, look to y/our iwi history, discover the oral histories of y/our Tūpuna for their lies the rich tapestry gilded and overflowing with exemplars as to how iwi and kaupapa Māori theory and methodology has been developed over time and to which we are able to affix and append our academic inquiry. In this way we transform knowledge, we move from the

restating to presenting our own version of knowledge, as a stepping-stone to somewhere new. For instance, I have demonstrated how Pomare(s) practice drew on institutional resources, he worked across government sectors, he amalgamated kaupapa Māori and 'Western' science this, according to Thompson is how knowledge is transformed (Thompson, 2018).

4.7 Narrative modes of analysis

The important aspect of the methodology chapter is to demonstrate what I have learned. What were the methods I utilised to achieve the objects of this study, guide the selection, analysis and interpretation of tūpuna narratives uttered some two hundred years ago? Starting out on this study I amassed over 1000 pages of actual data collected. These were Waitangi Tribunal Reports, Native Land Court minute records, Historical Accounts. Over time a large 'compendium' of information was produced, this was a voluminous trove of colourful anecdotes, accounts and stories: they gripped my sense of adventure, but somehow these stories had to be collated into an archive appropriate for academic application. According to Lieblich et al.,., (1998) "narrative texts 'speak' to you they become the key methodological tools that describe the historical and cultural contexts in which certain subjects act providing a better understanding of the meaning of institutional and individual behaviours over time." In this study I draw on the work of Lieblich et al., (1998) as a model guiding the data collection technique, and as a tool analysing and interpreting the information I had collected (ibid. p.12). In former times before colonisation inter iwi disputes were settled on the marae, a place set aside for tribal discussions. For Ngāti Koi Ngāti Tara Tokanui that place is 'Te Awapu' the wharenui of our iwi. This is a warm place, full of tribal regalia, ancestors, it is home packed with the comforts one would expect from a tribal home. The Native Land Court, on the other hand, is a barren environment bereft of basic comfort, identity indeed its structure is designed to maintain Court attendees in a state of discomfort. The only access we have to this environment is through the minutes of the clerks. I have reflected on what Te Keepa(s) reactions may have been to the Court environment, I wanted to find out whether body language, the tone of words indicated his reactions to what was unfolding before him, both inside and outside of the Court. I had nothing, there were no supporting records, reports, the filigree of notes. I had to reconstruct what

the situation would look like keeping in mind that I am writing an academic study of some value to other scholars. Accordingly, there are two approaches for reading, interpreting and analysing narrative practices: holistic - contextualisation versus categorical analysis (ibid. 1998).

So far, this study has been premised on the making and remaking of iwi praxis from a kaupapa Māori viewpoint such as contextualisation, relationality and collectivity. As a result, minimal attention has been paid to perspectives that are converse, antithetical to the principles of this conceptual framework such as individualism and selfhood, these are the elements of a categorical approach which I discuss further in this section.

4.7.1 Analysing narrative texts a comparison between context and category.

Context: this type of reading takes into account the whole narrative and may draw on other sources focusing on its content these focus on the theme of change as manifested by the characters within the narrative. As a temporal instrument phenomenon such as the tracking of 'Haley's Comet' are superimposed within the story providing a period of time the event being narrated took place.

For Lieblich et al., a holistic contextualisation approach includes the following five criteria: ***rereading*** and familiarising of the narrative no matter how much I/we think we may know about the narrative, this is the important first step. For example: in my work having reread the narratives of migration, Ta Moko, whakapapa, Karangahake Maunga, and creation many times over-familiar patterns appeared. These were not disparate stories about events and phenomenon they were lessons of how to create the template of transformative praxis leading to change.

The second step is to "***use coloured markers*** to note the overarching themes within the stories and how these build and construct the narrative as a whole. ***Keep track of the result***, following the story and noting conclusions, being aware of similarities, differences, how these contribute to the overall meaning of the narrative, fourthly: ***note the key theme*** of change: how does this take form and shape, can change be extrapolated across the respective narratives, why these

narratives and not something else. The final criterion is ***consistency*****:** it is important to pay attention to changing themes - episodes that may seem to contradict the notion of change in terms of the credibility of the teller" Lieblich et al.,., (1998).

The whakapapa narrations of Te Keepa Raharuhi are a rich multi-layered account of Ngāti Koi history they are drawn on in this study for consistency: no matter how many times they were told they did not change. His narratives were told in the Native Land Court this was a highly contentious environment where iwi pitted against each other. Another iwi vying for the same land gave differing accounts of the stories he told, their versions and whakapapa changed over time, however, the narratives and whakapapa narrated by Te Keepa remained the same no matter the locality, setting, or Court sitting he attended (ibid. p.54).

The following table sets out the key differences between contextual and categorical methods of analysis. A categorical approach is underpinned by the principles of individualism, selfhood and self-reliance it is the moral stance, the political philosophy, ideology, the moral worth of the individual that underpins western culture. Categorical modes of making meaning are antithetical to a contextual approach.

Table 4.3: A comparison between Contextual and Categorical Approaches

Feature	Contextualisation	Categorisation	Reference
Epistemology Translations Narrative Story	Principle-based seeks praxis goals "Adheres to the principles of Kaupapa Māori: Faithful: true to the original in spirit Accessible: to the target audience in meaning Elegant: attractive to the target audience in style."	Mixed methods unspecified theoretical origins	Tom Roa et al., (2017) their work on promoting 'translation' as an academic field of study is to be recognised as Kaupapa academic leadership as quintessential excellence.
What are the units of analysis	Complete life story of the person is taken as a whole, focuses on the content presented	Original story, specific text is dissected	Maxwell (1996) Native Land Court Tauranga Moana Treaty Settlements
What is interpreted	Sections of the text are interpreted in the context of parts or the whole of the narrative.	Single words from the whole story belonging to a defined category selected	Lieblich et al., (1998)
What are the aims	Looks for meaning	Looks for content	
Symbolism	Body language The nuance of tone are identified Nuances of language are identified	Single words from several texts belonging to identified narrators are selected	
	Takes into account the place the story, narrative is narrated and created		
Content analysis	Narrative ascends towards or descends away from signifying positive or negative moments of the narrative known as 'up' or 'down' beats (Cronon, 1972).	Mode of classifying attempts to group. Quantitative analysis looks for commonalities i.e. relating to specific phenomenon-based occurrences	
Focus of Study	Historical Sequence of events, relation to time axis, complexity and coherence, feelings evoked by the story, the choice, style, selection of metaphor.	Focuses on discrete stylistic linguistic characteristics of defined units i.e. types of metaphors, frequency of passive vs active utterances, defined instances of nature collected and counted	
Aims of the researcher forms structure of the plot	Aims at getting to the implicit content by asking the meaning of the story Advocates for the wider cause Manifests the identity of the narrator	Explicit content, who participated from the standpoint of the teller Symbolises meanings of images according to the teller	

Please note that where there is an absence of reference within the table the information is extracted from the work of Amie Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, Zilber, (1998).

4.7.2 Ethics

Although this study does not consist of field research, ethics are important to this study-they are an indication that issues of morality not just in, knee-jerk, informed-consent terms, "but a thoughtful presentation of what [tūpuna and iwi participation…*my words*] in the study is likely to mean" (Fine, 1994; Janesick, 2000; Josselson, 1996; Stacey, 1988). Ethical issues are embedded in every aspect of a narrative study, they carry a manifold of dilemmas because narrative study is about researching the personal life of tūpuna.

4.8 The recommendations of this chapter

In this chapter, I have described the philosophical and methodological approaches I have employed to discover my topic. I have demonstrated how kaupapa Māori as an epistemological korowai enables the mapping of institutional forces that have contributed to iwi deconstruction: the destruction of praxis. The overall intent of the chapter is to provide 'new ways' of turning western ideology on its head, with the objective of change them.

A number of techniques, tools, methods and methodology have been explored elucidating how the interweaving of methodologies as an intersectoral approach, can be applied to achieve praxis. Overall, the chapter advocates for concepts and epistemologies that are contextualised and or stem from iwi Māori. Why, because if we seek to change our world, we cannot continue the focused dependency on European originating concepts. By utilising tūpuna, narrative practices disrupts-derails the entrenched view, that Western, white male knowledge, only, is scientific, universal and true (Pathak, 2014. p.2). Spurning universalism Grossberg resonates these themes, arguing for a most rigorously produced understanding of what's going on to answer questions about how and why social forces are arrayed and configured in the ways that continue to produce all those forms of exploitation, injustice, barbarity. These modes systems and practices that

increasingly characterise our world limit the possibilities [iwi, my word] of people's lives (Grossberg, 2016).

Whakapapa is utilised within this chapter to elucidate the way relations function at a lateral, vertical and horizontal level. Further, it describes the contingent link between each of these levels to the way they can be spoken about (Nikora, 2007). Whakapapa explores the relations between entities as they are made and practised within the "totality" of taken-for-granted ways (Smith, 1997), of knowing and being in the world. A 'Critical Kaupapa Māori' approach is premised on the belief that relationships are contextual, this means that all 'people and things' are interconnected, interdependent and related. That 'specific entities' such as Iwi and the intra-relationships between them are "patterned, interweaving tropes of meaning and practice (Arber, 2008)," this is the nature, the intrinsic characteristics of culture (Grossberg, 2015).

Māori narratives, traditions, social and cultural practices are derived from cosmogony (Barlow, 1993; Buck, 1950; Henare, 2001; Marsden, 1988; Mead, 2003) they ascend to humankind through tūpuna narrative, through artistic embellishment, craft, symbolism, writing, speech: they are represented in the many forms that Māori innovation and creativity can know. They hold the meanings and knowledge of iwi, they origin from time immemorial.

To say that meanings and knowledge can only be expressed utilising rational, neutral and empirical methods originates from Cartesian philosophy in the move to separate the subject from the object and to measure reality in mechanistic ways (Husserl, 1970 in Polkinghorne, 1989, p.42). By arguing for ways of learning and research methods that do not adhere to a Cartesian paradigm, Pathak expands this argument detailing the ways it reinforces dominant, colonialist ideology while invisibilising, minimalising Māori methods/ologies which are relegated to the realm of the exotic, myth, the imaginative artistic world of the indigenous.

One of the pitfalls of narrative study is its inherency to explore, to journey unearthing arguments outside the intended scope of the thesis, at one level this method enhances the stories being told at another it tends to fragment the wider

narrative, threads of meanings are lost, as a result, concepts such as important issues of naming remain untold. At another level narrative study is a relatively new field of science, it has yet to ‘sort’ its terminology. In my attempt to engage with narrative study I have utilised words such as mode for method, modality for methodology and then, unwittingly, reverted back to the original terms overall this displaces the narrative endeavour which attempts to achieve linked up connected storylines in a liquid coherency, words phrases and paragraphs flowing in one consistent whole, utilising new terms and then reverting back creates a break in terms of the storylines within the narrative, meaning-making and the understanding of complex phenomenon, this was not intended.

Māori forms of representation have value: they hold multidimensional applications to studies such as this. To write as an academic, at whatever stage of the learning continuum, requires the full engagement of one’s mind, body and heart. Knowledge is a vaster, more multi-dimensional realm than we often recognize. To say that it consists of and must be practised in a certain manner is to condemn; the scholar of colour, the institutions of learning they origin from, the indigenous world they whakapapa to, into an essentialist (aka Cartesian) quagmire, fixed and frozen for all time.

Chapter 5

Identity

A defining characteristic of "being 'free'
is knowing who you are
and being able to exercise one's autonomy
in establishing who you are and who you identify with."
(Chamberlain, 1998, p. 46).

5.1 Introduction

This study challenges and resists the hegemonic identity imposed on a Hauraki iwi (Ngāti Koi) in the late nineteenth century that effectively alienated and silenced them erasing their memories of who they were and are. Although vigorously debated throughout the Hauraki Settlements process, the question of 'Ngāti Koi identity' remains unanswered. Iwi believe the volumes of historical records and researching which unearthed, recorded and debated Ngāti Koi social history has done little to explain why the iwi, in the 19th century Native Land Court were recorded as Ngāti Koi yet, today it is known as Ngāti Tara Tokanui. The essence of the argument is that iwi, usually named after the eponymous ancestor, they claim descent from, have one name only and that this name remains for the duration of the life of that iwi.

Modern-day Ngāti Koi are known as Ngāti Tara Tokanui. The iwi(s) knowledge of its heritage was very sketchy. Essentially consisting of a few stories and references passed on through our mothers and fathers, it was very difficult to find out much in the way of the identity of Ngāti Koi for there appeared to be a veil of silence in what Bishop, (1995) explains as a conspiracy of silence (Bishop, 1995, p. 38).

This so-called "crisis of identity" is discussed within the context of change an ongoing process that resulted from the 'dislocation' 'repositioning' of the newly established 19th-century settler government. As a result of this thesis issues

pertinent to Ngāti Koi identity has been uncovered, these matters are discussed within the next and final chapter six.

My intent in this chapter is to address questions of:

1. what do we mean by identity and is there a difference between Māori and tauiwi notions of identity?
2. how do new theories of address the question of identity?
3. why are there so many terms and meanings for identity?
4. what is its relevance to this study?

Seeking to address these questions, I explore kaupapa and indigenous models of identity focussing on the fault lines themselves, on border situations, thresholds, where identities are performed and contested. I propose new ways of theorising identity because essentialist notions of 'the Cartesian subject' the core foundation upon which western theories of identity are constructed are no longer tenable. The second aspect of this chapter is a discussion on language and its importance to narrative identity, I briefly summarise aspects of this concept as a conductor of meaning, as a way of making sense of the complex issues of identity.

5.2 Reclaiming identity

The point of this thesis is to reclaim identity from a personal/private and epistemological perspective. According to Moya (2009), it is a way of engaging with both past and present structures of inequality, structures that are highly correlated with categories of identity. Identities, such as cultural iwi identities, are evaluable theoretical claims in that they have epistemic consequences" (p. 19).

This means that who we understand ourselves to be will have consequences for how we experience and know the world. Cultural identities are not always 'wounded attachments' they are enabling, enlightening and enriching structures by which people experience, understand, and know the world.

5.3 Positioning Ngāti Koi

In the earlier chapters I have discussed a number of methods employed by Ngāti Koi in what will be now on referred to as reclamation strategies, these constitute a number of tactical interventions oriented towards revitalising their iwi cultural

identity and creating a space for the reestablishment of their iwi traditions and practices. Mana-motuhake and tino rangatiratanga espouse authority: the right to be a sovereign polity. Ngāti Koi seek these goals mindful of the incongruence of living within a colonised majoritarian society subjugated by a Crown and institutional practices, not of their making. As Gittins reminds,

> "whole groups over time have been left largely unacknowledged, unseen, unheard because a dominant group, defines individuals and groups as 'irrelevant' or unworthy of being remembered… silenced out of official public history…who silences whom, and why, are the crucial questions in understanding power relations in any given culture at a given time (Gittins, 1998, p.2)

Thus, we cannot do without that sense of our own positioning that is connoted by the term identity. And the relation that peoples of the world now have to their own past is, of course, part of the discovery of their own ethnicity.

> "They need to honour the hidden histories from which they come. They need to understand the languages which they've not been taught to speak. They need to understand and revalue the traditions and inheritances of cultural expression and creativity. And in that sense, the past is not only a position from which to speak, it is also a necessary part of identity. There is no way in my view, in which those elements of ethnicity that depend on understanding the past, understanding one's roots, can be done without" (Hall, 1989, p.18).

5.4 Identity: so, what is all the fuss about?

When 'we' think about the term identity, from both a personal and iwi-tribal perspective it should conjure up feelings of "a stable sense of self" (Hall, 1996, p. 596), something fixed for all time, of knowing who we are and where we come from for it refers to our iwi name, those who named us, usually our parents or 'high ranking' rangatira who applied principles and naming patterns dating back to a waka, a certain point in time the iwi originated from. However, the term "identity" remains one of the most "ambiguous, overused, slippery"

(Buckingham, 2008)", "elusive" (Bhabha, 1994), "de-centred," (Hall, 1989, p. 598), "unstable" (Mohanty, 2000, p. 29) and "hotly disputed" (Poata-Smith, 2013, p. 3) (Moya, 2000, p. 1) of terms. Over the past two decades much has been written about identity in an attempt to delegitimate, and in some cases eliminate, the concept itself by revealing its ontological, epistemological, and political limitations.

"Activists and academics alike have responded to essentialist tendencies in the cultural-nationalist and feminist movements of the 1960s and 1970s and the violent ethnic conflicts of the 1980s and 1990s by concluding that social and cultural identity, as a basis for political action, is theoretically incoherent and politically pernicious (Moya, 2000, p. 2). The renowned cultural theorist Stuart Hall dedicated much of his career debating the decline of the old and the rise of new identities creating a 'crisis of identity' (Hall, 1996, p. 596) requiring a 'hat-trick of a well-practised conjurer' to prevent its total slippage into the mire of something conceptually flawed, "debunked and deconstructed" (Moya, 2000, p. 7). Why then is this study predicated on identity? Why persist with this lengthy exegesis given that the term, from the outset, is "conceptually flawed" – meaning that its application is impractical, "theoretically constrained" there is an 'absence of known fact', and "politically pernicious" the later implying that there is a likelihood that the very group, Ngāti Koi, this theory seeks to advantage could possibly be seriously harmed?" (Moya, 2000, p. 4).

Hall's theory of identity is the practice of identification; it is 'the' identity applied by one, group or individual for another, over time this ascribed identity becomes accepted. This acceptance can be manifested as silence, resignation, deference, as the powerlessness to change the circumstances that prescribe identity. There are three forms of identity according to Hall firstly "there is the enlightenment subject: the fixed, never changing unified individual whose characteristics remain continuous throughout the existence of the iwi. Secondly, there is the sociological subject and thirdly the post-modern subject." It is the notion of the sociological subject that has relevance to this study. This concept reflects the complexity of the colonised world and the awareness that this inner core of the subject was not autonomous, self-sufficient and free but was formed by and in relation to

‘significant others’ who mediated the subject the values, meanings and symbols, of the (iwi) inhabited world (Hall, 1996.p.2). Similarly, G.H. Mead and C.H Cooley’s theory of symbolic interaction is based on the notion that “all things in the social and cultural world change, they elaborated that the concept of self is formed in the interaction between self and society.”

5.4.1 Looking for identity: lost in the detail

The point of this research was to discover a succinct definition of the term identity as it relates to iwi and culture. What unfolded was a myriad of definitions developed by scholars working in a wide range of academic disciplines, not all concurred. Housed within multi-storied studies they ranged from the very complex such as (Taylor, 1989; Durie, 1984; Erikson, 1968; Moya, 2000; Tajfel, 1978 1981; Nikora, 2004; 2000a,2000b, 2000c) to the brief and concise (Hall 1986, Hogg and Abrams 1988; Churton, & Brown, 1990; A Bloom, 1990; Wendt, 1992; Hall, Hogg, Terry, White, 1995, Deng, 1995). Each academic field, connected more by their different understandings of the term, created confusion propounding my futile attempts to find an exemplar model of identity espousing iwi indigenous and culture. This was largely due to the ever-changing tendencies inherent within the term ‘itself’ further that the term identity is a western construct.

Tired of dancing between ‘subject’ and ‘object,’ ‘western’ and ‘southern Marxism,’ ‘Descartes and Smith’ I settled on a process of deconstruction, of establishing rigid boundaries around the term ‘identity’ pointing to its conceptual, pernicious and practical failings. However, this somewhat polemic ridden strategy contributed little to assist the project of identity the procrustean bed to which I had condemned it gesticulated a rudderless, imbalanced study. The following is a discussion of the concepts I discovered that assisted my understanding of the term identity its historical and modern applications. These are discussed with a view to stimulating further work on conceptual methods that have iwi and praxis at the heart of their endeavours.

5.4.2 Mixing and matching vs exclusive and unique

According to Chamberlain,

> "Two hundred years ago there was no such a thing as academic disciplines. The rise of sharply demarcated different perspectives, protected by those rising disciplinary walls has made it increasingly difficult to see common ground between the preoccupations of a behavioural scientist, a specialist in the poetry of William Wordsworth, or an anthropologist in the tropics. (Chamberlain, 1998, p.3).

Over recent times there is a new recognition that autonomous disciplinary endeavours can be greatly enriched through the exchange of ideas, approaches and insights across the boundaries Comstock cautions that "we cannot apply the investigative logic developed by the positive sciences to new topics and expect to foster a truly critical social science, they are each designed for different outcomes and purposes. Why? because unconsciously we adopt both the epistemology and methods of a positive science" (Comstock, 2007, p.371). Scholars have created a domain for the European male, a world for gender-feminist movements, black people are the subjects of the cultural movement, indigenous belong to the ethnic movement" (ibid. p.371). According to Hall "this is a rather simpler universe 'where there is one identity for each movement, of course, from time to time we migrate back and forth between these stable movements but, we all sampled different identities while maintaining that we are all the same, it is this notion of essentialism as sameness that is defunct because it inheres from essentialist notions of identity as something as stable and fixed" (Hall, 1989, p.17).

Working within a Kaupapa Māori framework where disparate concepts, theories and methodologies are 'interlinked' this study concurs with both Comstock and Hall. The silo*ing* of a conceptual framework limits the scope of the investigative tool, the scope of the overall project. There is an urgent need to innovate, recreate and rethink our assumptions about culture and ethnic identity practices because the ongoing spectre of colonisation is no longer tenable, it is a prerequisite that decolonising (iwi) researchers utilise the widest range of tools, means and devices to co-construct progressive praxis actions alongside iwi groupings.

5.4.3 New theories: resettling the spaces

As a term identity has been used in many different contexts, for many different purposes, and resides at a place "a kind of unsettled space between a number of powerful intersecting discourses" (Hall, Ethnicity: Identity and Difference, 1989, p. 3). This thesis 'marks' some of those points as intersections particularly around the questions of iwi identity in relationship to what Poata-Smith defines as "a sociological traditional perspective; as something fixed and essentialised to issues of ethnicity and cultural identity as something contested, negotiated and authenticated. He further challenges that Māori identities are renewed, modified and remade in each generation" (Poata-Smith, 2013, p.1). Ethnicity matters it provides the substance of culture (Fenton, 2003, p.3). The remaking and renewal of iwi cultural identity are the topics this thesis is concerned with and are examined and discussed throughout this study contextualized through the journey of the writer, a family and an iwi to search for their cultural identity as a process of renewal, revitalization and modification. It is a journey of standing up for and speaking where we came from and importantly where we are going to described by Hall as a positioning, an enunciation:

> There is no way, it seems to me, in which people of the world can act, can speak, can create, can come in from the margins and talk, can reflect on their own experience unless they come from someplace, they come from some history, they inherit certain cultural traditions. What we've learned about the theory of enunciation is that there's no enunciation without positionality. You have to position yourself somewhere in order to say' anything at all (Hall, 1989, p.19).

5.4.4 Bhabha New ways of theorizing identity

Bhabha cautions that the tensions inherent in the term identity is problematic, difficult and challenging in that "the trends are too recent and too ambiguous, and the very concept we are dealing with – identity – to complex, too under-developed, and too little understood in contemporary social sciences to be definitively tested. This difficulty arises from our needing to locate something intrinsic to identity on which we can hinge a political practice." This is further

complicated by the "knowing cartesian subject" which 'in itself' denies all notions of critique indeed it "forbids any such intrinsically" (Hall, 1999).

Bhabha attempts to redefine our understandings of the relation between the emergence of the nation and the role of narrative "nations are narrative constructions in that they arise from the "hybrid' interaction of contending cultural constituencies" (Mitchell, in Johnstone, 2012, p.118). Narratives are nation builders, the connections Bhabha makes between nation and narrative resonates at deep levels with this study. His book, 'Nation Narration' (1990) is primarily a critique of essentialist understandings of nationality, that attempt to define and naturalize Third World nation by means of the supposedly homogenous, innate, and historically continuous traditions that falsely define and ensure their subordinate status.

A former scholar to Oxford University, Homi K Bhabha has taken colonial studies into a new trajectory. By applying Foucauldian-poststructuralist methodologies to colonial texts his work has transformed the study of colonialism. Influenced by the post-structural critique of binary oppositions Bhabha sets out to unsettle, destabilize these oppositions demonstrating that cultures perceived as central/peripheral, enlightened/ignorant, interact and influence each other in far more complex ways than western theories comprehend (Singh, 2009, p. 2).

In his work 'The Location of Culture' Bhabha extends his explanation of the liminality as a category that occupies a space between competing cultural traditions, historical periods, and critical methodologies. His liminality model engages astutely in that it is a way of rethinking 'the realm of the beyond that, until now has been thought of only in terms of the ambiguous prefix "post, postmodern, postcolonialism, post-feminism" (Bhabha, 1994, p.1). Hybridity, liminality, interrogatory, interstitial space "are the metaphors Bhabha proposes in place of the retrograde historicism that continues to dominate Western critical thinking such as a linear narrative of nation which asserts holism of culture and community and a fixed horizontal nation" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 145). These are powerful components of critique of what Bhabha takes to be an essentialist

method of nationhood readings that have attempted to define and naturise indigenous by the means of the supposedly homogenous holistic and historically continuous traditions that falsely define and ensure their subordinate status.

For Bhabha

> the social articulation of difference, from the minority perspective, is a complex ongoing negotiation that seeks to authorise cultural hybridity's that emerge in moments of historical transformation. This difference must not be hastily read as the reflection of pre-given ethnic or cultural traits set in the fixed tablet of tradition. (Bhabha, 1994, p. 146).

The negotiation of cultural identity involves the "continual interface and exchange of cultural difference. Cultural identities cannot be ascribed to pre-given irreducible, scripted, ahistorical cultural traits that define the conventions of ethnicity" (ibid. p.2). Nor can coloniser and colonised be viewed as separate identities that define themselves independently (Fenton, 2003).

The concept of 'ambivalence and hybridity' is the idea that cultures must be understood as complex intersections of multiple places, historical temporalities, and subject positions. More than a building the Native Land Court was such a place – an intersection between two cultures, a place demarcated by historical forces, a place where the subject of the tūpuna rangatira set out the substance of nationhood, the boundaries of the nation-state of iwi.

Reflecting on writers such as Toni Morrison and Nadine Gordimer, Bhabha seeks to place the location of culture in the 'marginal,'' haunting' 'unhomely' spaces between dominant social formations as a way of moving beyond concepts of *'post'' pre' and 'de'* he raises profound questions about the adequacy of prefixing age-old nouns as a way of understanding pluralist models of tolerance and civility that narrate histories of ferocious intolerance and incivility through the application of prefix.

Nations and cultures take their place of primacy as narrative constructions that arise from the hybrid interaction of contending national and cultural

constituencies. What has occurred is a "move away from the singularities of 'class' or 'gender' as primary conceptual and organizational categories, [this] has resulted in an awareness of the subject positions – of race, gender, generation, culture, institutional, geographical locale, ... that inhibit any claim to identity in the modern world. What is theoretically innovative, and politically crucial, is the need to think beyond narratives of originary and initial subjectivities and to focus on those moments or processes that are produced in the articulation of cultural differences" (Bhabha, 1994, p.1).

Māori scholars take our place in the 'beyond' by utilising interactive kaupapa symbols of poutama, whatu and rarangi, terms I describe more fully in the methodology chapter, to contest ourselves, position, peel back, peer into and structurally unwind Māori theories of kaupapa. The 'right to signify from the periphery, of authorized power and privilege, does not depend on the persistence of tradition; it is resourced by the power of tradition to be reinscribed through the conditions of contingency and contradictoriness that attend upon the lives of those, [iwi Māori], who are 'in the minority' (Bhabha. 1994, p.2).

From the point of iwi: single focussed essentialist doctrines are no longer tenable as tools to theorize cultural identities which are multiple and fluid, they are subject to continuous changes, are contingent on the context and situation in which they are articulated, they get displaced by new demands for inclusion and exclusion (Singh, 2009), (Bhabha, 1994, p.2).

5.4.5 New Ways of Theorizing

Bhabha's Third Space is the interstitial location in which national and cultural identities are negotiated. Hybridity and the negotiation that distinguishes the 'Third Space' should not be confused with liberal notions of consensus and compromise. It is too difficult even impossible and counterproductive to try and fit together different forms of culture and to pretend that they can easily exist. "Otherness" is an important aspect of identity development. This process enables the observation that the diversity of identities is not incompatible with the sharing of values such as democracy. What is needed, then, is a disruption, a displacement that relocates us. Bhabha proposes 'the beyond' a new place "to move theorizing

away from the fixedness of pre, post, and de the singularities of ‘class’ or ‘gender’ as primary conceptual and organizational categories.

This ‘beyond’ is neither a new horizon nor a leaving behind of the past. Beginnings and endings may be the sustaining myths of the middle years; but today we find ourselves in the moment of transit where space and time cross to produce complex figures of difference and identity, past and present, inside and outside, inclusion and exclusion (Bhabha, 1994, p.1). The anthropologist Van Gennep coined the term liminality to describe the ‘rites of passage’ male youths of specific African tribes undertake before progressing into ‘manhood’ (Larson, 2014). Bhabha applies liminality as a place between two points, an inbetweeness where the individual progresses not quite fully become but still becoming, that in-between state between the known and unknown a place where transformation can begin. In this state of liminality there remains a sense of disorientation, perplexity a disturbance of direction in the ‘'beyond’ an exploratory, restless movement caught so well in the French rendition of the words *au-delà*–- here and there, on all sides, *fort/da*, hither and thither, back and forth (Habib, 2009).

To understand this term and relevance to this study liminality can be applied as a stage within the praxis cycle. Taking Ngāti Koi, for example, stage one for the iwi was a state of conflict (the Anderson Report tabled at their Marae), stage two: conscientisation occurred (kaumātua realisation something must be done). Stage three: action they achieved (Wai 714) before the Waitangi Tribunal. Each of these stages can be conceptually understood as the liminal positioning of Ngāti Koi.

However, this is where ‘they’ have stopped, they remain “frozen” (Hall, 1996, p.162), (Comstock, 2007, p.385). They are solidified in a process of ‘becoming’ they cannot go back to pre-Waitangi Tribunal unknown-ness, equally, they cannot unknow what they now know. They have some ideological ‘control’ over the state of their lives, however, they remain on the outside of, locked up on the soil of Aotearoa why, because the ownership and control of the means and modes of production remains firmly in the grip of the hands of the majoritarian culture. That we continue to describe the banality of colonisation and the ongoing subjugation

that attends it in the form of three and four-letter prefix pre, de, post, is no longer defensible (Hall, 1996, p.2).

5.4.6 Stuart Hall: Third Space

Through his commentaries relating to the 'third space,' it is Stuart Hall that moves Bhabha's theory of 'the beyond' to a higher level of praxis, making it understandable and relevant to the kaleidoscope of identities: gender, homosexual, gay, racial and cultural differences that currently exist.

> "We should no longer classify groups of people based on 'organic' pre-existing traits attributed to ethnic groups. Instead, we should locate the differences created 'in-between' time and space spanning different cultures. People's characteristics are not limited to their ethnic heritage, but rather are subject to change and modification through experience. These 'in-between' spaces provide the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood–- singular or communal–- that initiate new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration, and contestation, in the act of defining the idea of society itself" (Hall, 1996, p.1).

What Hall posits as crucial to the development of a politically efficacious concept of identity is something quite different: a process of narrating one's self in which the procedures of the narration are themselves foregrounded, and their fictional status, is placed under scrutiny. "What is meant by fictional is that these narrational procedures are somehow without material effect in people's everyday lives; on the contrary, it is in examining the discursive structures through which an identity is pieced together that we begin to comprehend exactly how these fictive constructions – institutions, begat at the point of colonisation-British settlement [in Aotearoa], have translated into real power" (ibid. p.3).

Everyone is shaped by their social experiences and their own heritage, as well as the experiences and histories of everyone they 'come into contact with.' The concept of ambivalence is crucial to the work of postcolonial, cultural development and identity studies. Appropriated from Freudian psychoanalysis 'ambivalence' describes a 'continual fluctuation between wanting one thing and

wanting its opposite/attraction-repulsion. For Bhabha, attraction-repulsion characterizes the relationship between coloniser and the colonised; rather than assuming that some colonized subjects are 'complicit' and some 'resistant' to colonialist aggression, ambivalence suggests that complicity and resistance continually exist in fluctuating relation within the colonial subject" (Kumar, 2011, p.2). It is the desire to move from the self to the 'Other' – the colonizer. This mode of resistance, struggle, repel and surrender exemplifies the juxtaposition of what occurred: when our family joined the 'the Church' when our iwi accepted the Treaty Settlements process. As an iwi, we have castigated the Crown, the early settler governments–- the effects of the colonisation process, but happily negotiate alongside the Crown the return of meagre settlements assets to grow the newfound 'fortunes' of the beige, petty bourgeoise.

5.4.8 Fusing space and place

Bhabha is accredited with the field's recently coined neologisms and key concepts such as hybridity, mimicry, difference and ambivalence. Terms that describe ways in which colonized peoples have resisted the power of the colonizer (Kumar, 2011, p.2). There are downsides to Bhabha's work, he has created new concepts such as 'the-beyond' and 'in-between' 'liminality' which he repeats incantation like, to make sure that the reader understands how these operate. Ground-breaking work it may well be, however, it has attracted its share of critique. Reknown cultural theorists Hubert and Eagleton question the meanings of these terms 'the beyond' remains an elusive concept. Is the 'beyond' a physical place? is there a 'theoretical' map to getting there? How do we know the route of the pauperised, the marginalised ethnic? Are we all doomed to be cast into a 'no person's zone? Professor Rafey Habib describes this 'spatial metaphor of emerging "between" as entirely devoid of explanatory significance'.

Further, Bhabha's writing is thick, "his essays are complex fragmented mosaics of quotation, neologism, poetry, and cultural analysis he mixes disparate disciplines juxtaposing historical descriptions, Lacanian psychoanalysis, and literary criticism. According to Huddart, this mixing is jagged they are mixed critical texts that use concepts of quotations in a patchwork of critical form" (Huddart, 2006,

p.10). In 1998 the journal 'Philosophy and Literature' awarded Bhabha second prize in its "Bad Writing Competition" not only are 'the issues' related to a literary focus they relate to the substantial-unresolved matters of critique of the Bhabha framework 'in itself. Singh (2009), Habib (2009).

5.5 The importance of developing Kaupapa Theories

Central to any discussion on iwi identity is the interplay between whakapapa and identity. Over recent times scholars have tended to apply the terms interchangeably, however, in many ways, they are dissimilar concepts. Notably, whakapapa does not change it codifies the identities that form from its essences. Identities change, they are the symbols, names and interpretations we place on whakapapa, they change because identity is contingent on our cultural, social and historical circumstances and experiences.

I have applied a Kaupapa Māori' structuralist approach which is composed of both semiotic and discursive elements for I seek to understand how meaning is constructed in and through language and its importance as the conveyor of tūpuna narrative (Pathak, 2010). Kaupapa Māori requires clarity: to be clear about the core foundations of the theories they are seeking to apply there is a moral duty of care to understand:

> the whakapapa- origins of specific theories whānaungatanga-how these will be applied whangaitanga-the disclosure of how and what disparate, non-kin elements are being harnessed,
> whānaungatanga- the array of theoretical constellations being applied in their work

The importance of developing Kaupapa models of theory is noted by Smith (2003) in his paper titled 'A Call to Theory' where he highlights "the need for a strategic reinvestment for theoretical tools to assist 'their' transformation and the enablement of indigenous theorizing" (p.4). What he is pointing to is the need to continue to develop research tools to critically analyse and theorize, a developmental strategy that needs to be undertaken by Māori.

Some of the reasons I believe Smith proposes these strategies:

> Firstly: because theory models established by and for Māori is praxis, they result in transformative change
>
> Secondly: they expose the relations of power that subjugate Māori in New Zealand,
>
> Thirdly: by implementing praxis strategies marginal, subordinated groups dislodge, and, in so doing secure cultural space from the dominant group (Smith 2003, pp.4-5).

What is theoretically "innovative, and politically crucial, is the need to think beyond the narratives of 'originary' and native subjectivities to focus on those moments or processes that are produced in the articulation of cultural differences" (Bhabha, 1994, p.2). Citing Urwin, these spaces according to Tuhiwai Smith must be filled by theories developed by Māori "Māori do not need anyone else developing the tools which will help us come to terms with who we are. Theories are important they help us understand reality it gives us space to plan, to strategize, to take greater control over resistance… it is about recovering our own stories of the past" (Smith, 1997, p. 40). Tuhiwai Smith's book on Decolonising Methodologies is a world-renown study it provides vital conceptual tools for scholars studying iwi, Māori, the Crown, culture and identity. Her understandings that the basis for theory is formed from stories of our past histories to enable iwi to make sense of today's political reality, resonates with this study. I argue that it is time to move from the repetitious invocations of emphasizing the "facile binary oppositions between first world and third world, us /them, coloniser and colonised, men and women, Māori and Pākehā, [settler and tangata whenua] to a space of limitless boundaries to engender alternative, interstitial kaupapa Māori theories of new possibilities" (Meredith, 1998, p.1). The importance of narrative identity studies is the disruption of colonisation through the innovative sites of Kaupapa Māori research that reveal its ongoing and covert nature. This space of 'limitless boundaries' "provides the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood – singular or communal – that initiate new signs of innovative sites of collaboration, and contestation in the act of defining the idea of society itself" (Bhabha, 1994, p.

2). And the prerequisite element of kaupapa Māori is whakapapa. “Whakapapa defines, arranges and classifies it contextualises prescribes the codes, the values and symbols, it contextualises the interpretations of iwi identity” (Hemi Whaanga, personal communication, 2019).

5.6 The ‘haunted’ places of identity

As discussed earlier in this Chapter: questions, as a recurring spectre, continue to haunt the academic places that ensconce identity as a conceptual framework. According to Moya (2003), academics and scholars alike deeply divided about issues of defining identity have taken rigid positions ‘forming alliances exorcising opposing thought, outright objection or reasoned analysis’ (from Marx, 1845, The preface to the Holy Family, the Communist Manifesto). “These behaviours exacerbate ambiguity” and the very concept of identity which we are attempting to come to terms with remains complex, underdeveloped and too misunderstood (Comstock, 1992). Limiting the research endeavour is about silencing justice. The increasing contestation around who, what and how, maintains the presence of defunct languaging the persistence of binary forms of them/us, coloniser/ized, black/white which continue to interact and influence each other. Silence does not increase our understandings of the embedded structures of power. Conceptual strategies such as positivism, structuralism, Marxism due to their inherent individualistic underpinnings, remain silent in relation to ethnic cultural, colonised nations. They are intrinsically limited in other words, they have not worked they are inappropriate to understanding iwi cultural identities.

5.7 Identity theorists

In recent years Māori scholars working in an array of social, cultural sciences and humanities disciplines have taken an intense interest basing whole studies on the concept of identity. The topics range from Nikora’s doctoral thesis on Māori social identities, the psychology-based work of Houkamau, the development of an inclusionary multifaceted identity politics by Meredith, the work is extensive and relevant to their fields of study. Hall, an indigenous of Jamaica and Bhabha of Mumbai India write as cultural diaspora living in England: their origins infused into their work bring a level of cultural richness that is innovative and ground-breaking to studies on culture, hegemony and power.

The 19th-century experiences of Ngāti Koi occurred within a political context of the Native Land Court which created a new identity, silencing the old. Therefore, I am interested in briefly sketching out the problem of the relationship between "identity" and "identity politics." By now, we have a substantial body of material on the concept of identity which attacks the essentialist notion of a unified, coherent subject. Despite this seeming triumph over "the old Cartesian self-sustaining subject, there is a greater tendency for identity politics to become mired in a seemingly endless proliferation of identities" (Hall, 1996, p.1). This is abundantly evident in the struggles in education over "multiculturalism" and bilingual schooling in which political ideals dissolve under the pressure of 'practical' application.

Taking a praxis approach, I want to rethink our assumptions about culture, identity and iwi ethnic identity practices. Stuart Halls concept of identity as a process, as something continually under construction, always unfinished and relational resonates with this study (Hall, 1996, p. 2). This view of identity as something that continues is the antithesis of the binary of Māori as (the colonised) and Pākehā as (the coloniser) (Meredith, 1997, p.1)

5.8 New ways on 'old' themes

As a concept 'identity' has been utilized to understand and make sense of issues of crisis such as occurred for Ngāti Koi. In everyday discourse, it is applied within the majority of social sciences, and to almost everything that beacons to the extent that a 'pick and mix' of conceptual constellations have resulted. However, identity as a concept remains limited, slippery, ambiguous, and at best an enigma (Fearon, 1999, p.1). To some extent, this relates to the manner and way the term has been treated and applied. Aspects of the following 'approaches' have been discussed elsewhere within this study they are brought for discussion within this chapter as they are key identity theories approaches discussed in this study.

5.9 Intersectoral Theory

In the need to develop an efficacious model of iwi identity theory I have interwoven conceptual constellations such as Kaupapa Māori with Marxist based Critical Theories, Cultural Studies with Anthropology, Sociology with

Ethnography. I advance this way of working to transform- problematicize culture as a play of differences, rather than the popular objectification of the ‘cultural other’ and the binarisms that plague the cultural and social sciences. By interweaving diverse theoretical approaches enables me to understand culture from many perspectives.

5.9.1 Hybridity

“Poststructural theory relates to identity eclipsed by the exigencies which arose from recognizing and studying situations of stark inequalities, which were held in place and legitimated by colonisation” (Kumar, 2011, p.) My understanding of this statement is that ‘post-structural theory’ resulted from dissatisfaction of existing theories to adequately describe, and make sense of, the inequalities resulting from colonisation. For Hall, the ways of articulating “the subject of colonisation is wholly up for grabs” (Grossberg, 2017).

Hybridity is an enticing idea in current postcolonial studies: in its dominant form it is claimed as providing a way out of binary thinking allowing the re-inscription of the agency of the subaltern ‘subordinate’, and in so doing permits a restructuring and destabilizing of power.

My approach is to separate ‘hybridity’ from concepts of the ‘beyond’ and ‘third space’ it is:

a theoretical concept in its own right,
a political stance that we can argue,
a social reality with historical specificity.

Cultural hybridity is tangible, it is not a space in a void such as the beyond, it is an articulation which occurs in the emergence of the interstices–- the overlap and displacement of domains of difference “where the intersubjective and collective experiences of *nations*, community interest, or cultural value are negotiated. How are subjects formed 'in-between' or ‘in excess of,’ the sum of the part’ of difference, usually intoned as race/class/gender etc? How do strategies of representation or empowerment come to be formulated in the competing claims of

communities where, despite shared histories of deprivation and discrimination, the exchange of values, meanings and priorities may not always be collaborative and dialogical, but may be profoundly antagonistic, conflictual and even incommensurable?" (Hall, 1996, p.5)

5.9.2 Difference, diversity, otherness: political identities as essentialist

It is commonplace for democratic societies to say they can encourage and accommodate cultural diversity – multiculturalism this is nothing less than a norm being established by the host society or dominant culture which says that "these other cultures are fine but, we must be able to accommodate them within our own grid." The concept of 'difference' creates a productive space of the construction of culture as 'difference' in the spirit of otherness. Cultural diversity is an epistemological object–-culture is an object of empirical knowledge–- whereas cultural difference is the process of the enunciation of culture as knowledgeable, authoritative, as adequate to the construction of systems of cultural identification. Cultural diversity is the recognition of pre-given cultural contents and customs; held in a timeframe of relativism the later gives rise to liberal notions of multiculturalism, they deconstruct praxis by embedding inequality, subjugation. (Johnston, 2012, p. 118).

5.10 Culture and ethnicity

Culture can be defined as a 'unique set of ideas,' meanings, 'mores' and knowledges of a people (Merriam-Webster, 2017; Barth, 1969; Taylor, 1881; Bhabha, 1994; Hall, 1996; Nagel, 1998; Storey, 2014, Takacs, 2015, Grossberg, 2017). The problem is to define the people the culture relates to. Over time studies have separated the qualities of human life into distinctive conceptual constellations. Reflected in the departmentalising of the School of Humanities, within state-funded Universities, there is a department for social, historical, political and cultural. Each further divided into specific spheres of specialisation, there is a universe for culture as popular culture, there is a universe for women's study as gender analysis, there is a universe for indigenous studies (Hall, 1996). The lack of structural coherency has resulted in the fragmentation of the ability for Māori to academically conceptualise and apply Kaupapa Māori in its fullest

capacity, as a field of study in its own right because Kaupapa Māori spans the whole of these conceptual constellations.

According to Smith (1997):

> "Kaupapa Māori theory is a part of a wider resurgence for Māori; it is a part of what is often termed the Māori Renaissance. That renaissance is an outcome of the struggles by many Māori to regain fundamental indigenous rights."

5.10.1 How is culture applied in this study?

Within the theory section, I begin with the construct of culture because this is what this study is based on, it is the establishment of cultural identity by an indigenous iwi of Hauraki. I will do this through examining the discursive structures in which an identity is pieced together to make visible the knowledge/power nexus as it operates to comprehend exactly how certain social/cultural constructions can translate into real power or powerlessness.

This account of identity is based less in re-discovering or uncovering "authentic" histories and identities than in locating a sense of identity in the process itself of retelling those histories. Considering the issue of identity from this viewpoint involves analyzing the modes of discourse within which histories are told, as much as those histories themselves. It entails, "not an essence but a positioning"; that is, it involves coming to terms with identity as something unstable, never quite graspable, at once a "being" and a "becoming" (Hall, 1996, p.4).

Studies on iwi cultural identity almost always start with culture, it is a broad and complex field of study. This thesis is not a study of culture as ethnic-cultural practice and ritual, neither is it reading politics off cultural texts, forms, or cultural genres. Why not? because a Kaupapa Māori approach to culture-based studies begins with the notion that everything is relational, that reality is constructed through the ongoing production and transformation of relations. It seeks to answer questions about how and why social forces are configured in ways that continue to produce all the forms of exclusion, exploitation, injustice, violence, the barbarity of colonisation that increasingly continues to characterize our world thus limiting

the possibilities of iwi Māori (Communicationplusone, Grossberg, 2015) From a Kaupapa Māori perspective, it is simply not enough to understand how these configurations persist over time, the point is to change them. Drawing on the work of Kaupapa Māori theorists I move from an ethnographic approach to reconstruct how social and institutional power is exercised within a particular context and how this is transposed across the generations. As a case in point in chapter six, I discuss the dealings of James Mackay Jnr to exemplify how the configuration of Crown institution, Crown agent and iwi transpire to create a reconstruction of iwi whakapapa and the persistent silencing of iwi identity. These configurations are discussed in the context of ongoing insistent colonisation.

The centrality of culture to this study cannot be underscored, the point of this thesis is not simply to understand 'culture' but to understand and discuss culture in a much larger set of configurations to assist our understandings of the specific relations of power; how they are lived, how they persist and the role we play as iwi in perpetuating their sovereignty. This study focuses on the socio-cultural and political dynamics of culture its: historical, social and geographical contexts that circumscribe the practices and modalities by which 'relations' are constructed deconstructed and reconstructed.

Drawing on historical tūpuna narratives the thesis draws causal links to understand how these 'relations' are made and constructed, how they adapt to different social realities clime and geography. For 'these' relations-configurations-assemblages are complex they are never fixed, they never remain the same forever changing and altering they reconstruct reality through the ongoing production and transformation of relations be it a tribal grouping, a formation, an assemblage, a social reality Grossberg (2015). The helpfulness of Critical Kaupapa Māori is that it draws on the constellation of narrative-based principles that underpin kaupapa Māori, these are the principles created by Māori and for Māori that espouse whakapapa–- the relationality of all things, whānaungatanga–- that everything is inter-related.

Describing the key characteristic of cultural studies as a field of study, Grossberg (2015) is emphatic that "if we are to take this understanding of 'relationality' seriously then we have to think that everything in the world exists contextually." According to Mead, tikanga is contextual. It is common sense (Mead, 2003, p.X10) For this work whakapapa and tikanga Māori are interrelated therefore everything we study is understood contextually.

As a cultural-based conceptual framework, Kaupapa Māori, studies specific cultural, historical, political, social and geographical contexts, for 'in itself' it is culture and it utilizes culture as its way into those contexts (Grossberg, 2015) therefore, the object of analysis is context. Therefore, this is a culture-based study, where the object of analysis is context. As a 'contextual based' framework critical Kaupapa Māori is brought into the wider conversation of the important theoretical and philosophical work being conducted by Māori scholars highlighting key issues:

> of understanding how a particular phenomenon is being constructed and sustained in a particular context?
>
> what are the wider circumstances that form the settings that construct, deconstruct and sustain a particular phenomenon?
>
> of how established theories such as identity theory, evolutionism, structuralism, essentialism, affect theory, race and ethnicity act as a prism for a much wider set of social and organic crises,
>
> avert the cataloguing of 'tired old' essentialist binary, labelling, deconstruction,
>
> the role of the judiciary, politicians, institutional judiciary, the popular mood of the people, the politics of the community, the production of popular culture institutional, judicial decision-making establish the conditions of ongoing hegemony that defines iwi social reality,
>
> how Cartesian based principles espoused as 'Enlightenment' has led to the barbarity of the modern world (Grossberg, 2015)

how ‘do’ we continue to make the world an inhumane place?

5.10.2 Ethnicity

Ethnicity can be defined as a group of people who identify with each other based on commonly held languages, whakapapa, cultural practices a shared sense of nationhood and society’ of equal importance is the instilling of these belief systems. For iwi, whakawhānaungatanga is the practice of enunciating whakapapa connectedness of who we are and where we come from. This term provides for the subjectification of change, positioning and identification for instance who we (iwi)–- say we are, “the subject–- who is spoken of,” at a specific moment may change according to the audience we are attempting to connect to, a place, experience, time, geographic space (Hall, 1989, pp. 61-68). Ethnicity is the way Hall wants to rethink the relationship between identity and difference through his theory of enunciation:

> “There is no way, it seems to me, in which people of the world can act, can speak, can create, can come in from the margins and talk, can being to reflect on their own experience unless they come from someplace, they come from some history, they inherit certain cultural traditions. What we’ve learned about the theory of enunciation is that there’s no enunciation without positionality. You have to position yourself somewhere in order to say anything at all. Thus, we cannot do without that sense of our own positioning that is connoted by the term identity”

And the relation that people of the world now have to their own past is, of course, part of the discovery of their own ethnicity.

Prior to the work of Bhabha, the line run by a politics of identity is that various social movements attempted to organize themselves politically into one identity So that a woman was a subject of the feminist movement. The Māori was the subject of the cultural movement. And in that rather simpler universe, there was one identity for each movement. Of course, from time to time we migrated back and forth between these stable movements, but we all sampled different identities while maintaining that we are all the same. It is this notion of essential forms of

identity that are no longer tenable (Hall, 1989, pp. 9-20). Identity is a narrative of the self; it's the story we tell about the self in order to know who we are (McAdams, 2011, p.3).

5.10.3 Negotiating, navigating and enunciating ethnicity

This study is about how iwi negotiated, interacted and navigated through specific institutional processes to establish and maintain their cultural identity. It traces the Ngāti Koi an iwi of Hauraki when it first came into contact with the British Settler government of the 19th century through to the current day Treaty Settlements process undertaken by the Crown. The thesis provides a site for empowering and revitalizing the hapū through articulating Ngāti Koi narratives and identity theories practices and values. These "strategic spaces provide the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood – singular communal – that initiate new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration, and contestation, in the act of defining the idea of society itself" (Hall, 1996, p.5).

Much of the history of Ngāti Tara Tokanui, within this study, is taken from the minutes of the Native Land Court. Vilified as an Engine of Destruction? (Gilling, 1994) the Native Land Court provided a forum for iwi to espouse nationhood, iwi identity, detailed aspects of iwi history, their evidences were recorded and held in this manner the Native Land Court and its predecessor the Māori Land Court became the largest repository of iwi social and cultural history.

5.11 Kaupapa Māori methods of identity

Whakapapa for rangatira in the nineteenth century Native Land Court was a way of keeping iwi identity alive; it is a way of connecting to, constructing and recalling knowledge, archiving and managing information, it is a complex mapping system that links and binds her/history to cosmogony and the natural environment. Whakapapa allows us to peer into the social mores, the operating systems of iwi society at a point in time, systems that in the case of Ngāti Tara Tokanui were in place for over a millennium. Whakapapa in a written format consists of singular linear and complex lateral arrangements capturing how descent lines are connected to each other as individuals and their linking to

eponymous ancestors. Mikaere likens whakapapa to a methodological tool for obtaining information encouraging us to regard wisdom as cumulative with each tier building upon the layer before it. Non-hierarchical in structure and purpose it serves to link all facets of creation in a complex web that extends in all directions and into infinity (Mikaere, 2011).

5.11.1 Whānaungatanga

The importance of whānaungatanga practices to iwi identity are highlighted in my brief of evidence before the Waitangi Tribunal in the matter of Wai 663 Te Aroha Maunga. While I do not seek to regurgitate the comprehensive historical research conducted on behalf of our iwi it is important to contextualise this evidence. The administrative and clerical functions of the Native Land Court failed to correctly record and or document our iwi(s) association with Te Aroha Maunga. However, the information provided by Historians, ethnographers and iwi narrative accounts have not been suppressed. Their accounts provide the information base and body of evidence which resulted in the 'weighty' Historical Accounts for Ngāti Tara Tokanui, Ngāti Koi.

As a geographical form, Te Aroha maunga provides the pinnacle of identity, a sense of belonging, it defines the expanse and boundary of the rohe of an iwi:

> At 952 metres Te Aroha Maunga is the highest feature in the Kaimai Mamaku ranges dominating the landscape of southern Hauraki for many miles. The importance of Te Aroha Maunga to Ngāti Tara Tokanui: cannot be understated. Te Aroha Maunga is the vector of our iwi identity shaping who we are and where we come from. Ngāti Tara Tokanui tribal whakapapa commences with Te Aroha Maunga and is consolidated in the iwi pepeha handed down from Tūpuna since time immemorial
> There are many legends regarding the naming of Te Aroha maunga. For Ngāti Tara Tokanui, Tiki Te Aroha was the first son born of the Tūpuna Tara, in Hauraki, at Te Waiorongomai - situated on the Western slopes of Te Aroha Maunga. Iwi lore associates Tiki Te Aroha as the ancestor that links Ngāti Tara Tokanui to the supernatural and natural worlds.
> (Williams, 2013)

The above statement sets out the geographical relationship, the cosmological ties and naming associations of Ngāti Tara Tokanui with Te Aroha Maunga. It is provided as an example of how narration, invocation and recalling their relationship with maunga that iwi establish traditions, customary habit and values: the foundations of identity. These practices, inferred to all living things, are the core elements of whakapapa and whānaungatanga they link individual – to the iwi- to the land, sea and sky – to cosmogony – to Atua. In this manner, whakapapa becomes more than a link, a classification system it becomes the beginning of creation from which all iwi life flows.

5.11.2 Whakawhanungatanga. The politics of identification

Critical to the development of identity is the theory of recognition. Laclau and Mouffe argue that "fundamental to all identities is a process of struggle for recognition from the other" (in Grossberg, 2016). The 'other' may constitute individuals, contesting communities, cultural and social groups or the state. Kaupapa Māori is about 'being Māori' and the implicit understanding that Māori have a distinct way of viewing and interpreting the world (Pihama in Berryman, 2013, p. 135). This standpoint creates the enabling conditions of praxis which is the ability to acknowledge our-selves; to accredit to ourselves, as a natural right, as iwi and intra Māori communities. In this way a politics of identity does not seek to 'see the world through another, and or for another to define and accept our view of the world' whānaungatanga is about retelling, and telling each other that we have the capabilities to define and validate, test and develop theories and methodologies that sustain and continually move our communities to 'higher places of knowing.'

> Whānaungatanga, as a core Māori principle, is a process of recognition through the retelling of and the reaffirming of historical and social connectedness by groups and individuals. It is a way in which relationships, connections and obligations between individuals, groups, iwi are strengthened (Māori Dictionary, 2018)

> It is a process whereby Māori maintain their interconnectedness it is a way of interlinking and binding people to their whakapapa: in this manner,

> whānaungatanga is a prerequisite tool for maintaining individual and iwi recognition practices (Berryman, 2013).

Considering the issue of identity from this viewpoint involves analyzing the modes of discourse within which histories are told, as much as those histories themselves. It entails, as Hall argues, "not an essence but a positioning;" that is, it involves coming to terms with identity as something unstable, never quite graspable, at once a "being" and a "becoming." Retelling our histories through whānaungatanga stabilizes and centres the self-providing momentary closure, this accounting of identity is based less in re-discovering or uncovering "authentic" histories and identities, than in locating a sense of identity in the process itself of retelling those histories (Hall, in du Gay, P., (eds) Questions of cultural identity, 1996, p. 594).

Over an extended period, Ngāti Koi rangatira submitted whakapapa to the Native Land Court identifying their links to the whenua, their tribal connections and to the opposing iwi claimants to whom they were closely related. This process is about recognising and acknowledging, paying homage to it is about honouring whakapapa relationships to each other, it is a tool to facilitate identity practices. Social mores, naming traditions – reciting of whakapapa takes time to develop, embed, to be recognised and accepted a process which occurs within the safe environment of a wananga situation where the procedures are mediated and facilitated by Kaumātua, Kuia and Rangatira. Ngāti Koi rangatira were aware of what constituted their iwi identity, these were explained in whakapapa, narratives, battles and conquests. Intermarriages that occurred over the millennium such as the marriage of Ngamarama to a tangata whenua influenced the iwi naming decisions, in this manner we see how iwi identities cannot be fixed for all time, they are shaped by the influence of key relationships and remain permanent over time. The iwi name for these two groups existed for a millennium yet, with the imposition of the Native Land Court, over a period of months new names had been recorded. Ngamarama would be replaced for Ngāti Tokanui. Ngamarama descends from the Ancestress Marama: circa pre-1000 years. Ngāti Tokanui is a tūpuna descendent of Ngamarama. Ngāti Tara for Ngāti Koi. The current iwi name is Ngāti Tara Tokanui.

The names Koi and Tara have the same meaning, in literal English translation for Koi and Tara is ‘sharp.’ Iwi witness within the 19th Century Native Land Court applied Ngāti Koi to signify their descent through Tiki Te Aroha the eldest son born of Tara. In the early 1900s iwi responded to the appeals by the rangatira Reha KauHou to form the ‘Ngāti Tara Tokanui me Ngāti Paeahi whakapapa.’ Senior members and rangatira of the iwi contributed to the formulation of the document, neighbouring iwi supported the construction of the document which was completed in early the 1930s. From this time, the iwi name took the form Ngāti Tara Tokanui, The early 1930s was a tumultuous time for the iwi. Land, bitterly fought for within the Native Land Court was being sold, the great forests of the Kaimai Mamaku gleaned of their Kauri, the gold rush and the industry it spawned was over save for the obliterated macro and micro-biological systems of the Ohinemuri and the abandoned edifices blighting the Ngāti Koi landscape (Bassett & Kay, 2001, p.12).

5.11.3 Why all the changes: from story to narrative

The ‘changing’ of an iwi name is a performative practice, shaped by political, socio-cultural and discursive elements, it takes form and shape over time. These according to Bhabha are the borderline engagements of cultural difference which, may as often be consensual as conflictual; they may confound our definitions of tradition and modernity; realign the customary boundaries between the private and the public, high and low; and challenge normative expectations of development and progress (Bhabha, 1994, 30),

As Sonia Kruks (2001) puts it: what makes identity politics a significant departure from earlier, pre-identarian forms of the politics of recognition is its demand for recognition based on the very grounds on which recognition has previously been denied: it is qua [Māori], qua [iwi], qua [Ngāti Koi], that groups demand recognition. The demand is not for inclusion within the fold of “universal humankind” based on shared human attributes; nor is it for respect “in spite of” one's differences. What is demanded is respect for oneself as different (Kruks,

2001, p. 85). What was demanded by Ngāti Koi in the form of whakapapa was the genetic, the cultural, the positional difference of Ngāti Koi tūpuna.

For many proponents of identity politics, this demand for authenticity includes appeals to a time before oppression and a cultural or way of life damaged by colonialism, imperialism, raupatu and death. “Terms of cultural engagement, whether antagonistic or affiliative, are produced performatively. The representation of difference must not be hastily read as the reflection of *pre-given* ethnic or cultural traits set in the fixed tablet of tradition. The recognition that tradition bestows is a partial form of identification. In restaging the past, it introduces other incommensurable cultural temporalities into the invention of tradition (Bhabha, 1994). This process estranges any immediate access to an originary identity or a 'received' tradition.

For Māori, it appeals to a time before the Treaty of Waitangi. Rights accrue to Māori as a matter of fact and ‘should’ not have required a Treaty, covenant, Deed of Settlement and or Royal Charter to be legitimated. “Underlying the demands for justice is the notion of universal human rights – that all human beings deserve equal rights and as such those who have experienced oppression have the right to claim equality and justice.” For Māori, this ought to have been a two-step process firstly our rights as human beings and secondly our rights as guaranteed under the Treaty of Waitangi (Young, 1990, p.5).

5.12 Why reconstruct identities

It is important to ask why identities are constructed the way that they are. Notwithstanding the fact that identities are infinite, fluid and dynamic, they are constantly shaping and re-shaping themselves, they are not arbitrary in character - they are not aimless and passive constructions. Historically various social groups have constructed certain kinds of identities because they have felt suppressed, exploited and dominated.

In a country such as India, identities have been constituted around caste (Dalits/Brahmins), gender (men/women); ethnicity or nationality (Assamese/Bodos), language (Hindi/Non-Hindi speaking peoples). In her analysis

of Indian indigenous identities Singh, (2009) states that Dalits have multiple identities which change with their context. They belong to different religious communities and linguistic groups. One could be a Hindu, Muslim or a Christian Dalit, as well as a Chamar, Mahar, or Vankar Dalit and also a Gujarati, Maharashtrian or Bihari Dalit. Each of these identities is often referred to as a 'subject position' therefore each individual in a society and his/her identity is constituted by continuous articulation and negotiation between various ‘subject’ positions.

Previously I had perceived the construction of identity as an interplay between subject and object positions this explanation according to Singh (2009) runs the risk of oversimplification. By focussing on identity as a study of subject and object, as analysts, we miss the conjunctural crisis: the economic exploitation, political suppression, cultural exclusion that results from colonisation (Young, 1990).

For Ngāti Koi the evolution of their name results from hegemonic forces unleashed by the Crown that effectively subjugated, alienated and silenced them erasing their memories of who they were and are. This institutional setting altered Ngāti Koi indigenous structures and processes of identity negotiation, contestation and repair which, within a pre-contact Māori context had always been determined by whakapapa and the practices of whakawhaungatanga.

5.12.1 Positional and Cultural Difference

Young notes the “importance of being clear on the differences between a politics of positional difference and a politics of cultural difference. There is a possibility for the two concepts to be merged in the above work this is not intended. The politics of cultural difference refers to persons who suffer specifically culture-based injustice when they are not free to express themselves as they wish bearing significant economic or political cost in trying to pursue a distinctive way of life” (Young, 1990). These are the conditions that gave rise to the Kohanga Reo movement, Ngāti Koi praxis (Berryman, 2013, p. 8).

A politics of positional difference primarily relates to issues of justice concerning structural inequality. Persons suffer injustice by virtue of structural inequality when their group social positioning means that the operation of diverse institutions and practices conspire to limit their opportunities to limit their wellbeing.

The colonial experience has always been a contested site where studies have focused on struggles between the Crown, which has sought to assert kawanatanga [governance] and Māori resistance of various sorts aimed at preserving rangatiratanga [self-determination] (Fleuras & Spoonley, 1999: xi). The problem with this dualistic model is that it universalizes indigenous identity and experiences, and neglects to acknowledge the multiple and heterogeneous realities and discourses of power and domination that constitute relations within iwi Māori. This does not excuse institutional practice which is discussed within this study to demonstrate the multifaceted nature of oppression and domination.

Through the critical analysis of the historical evidence of the Native Land Court, we see how the Crown Agent James Mackay Jnr acting on stereotypical assumptions reconstructed indigenous structures reproducing systemic inter-generational oppression reinforcing what Tilly defines as “durable inequality”.

5.12.2 Durable Inequality

Applying Tilly’s definition of durable inequality, we see how; institutional rules and practices operate producing systemic oppression reinforcing inequalities between groups. The construction of the 12 iwi groupings of the Hauraki Māori Trust Board is an example of a fictive formation. Based on a hastily called kaumātua hui, to fit a Crown agenda, 12 iwi groups were identified and named as representative of Hauraki tribes this model was utilised by the crown to determine iwi mandate to settle the Hauraki Treaty Settlements. There is no accommodation for tribes silenced by Native Land Court operations, iwi have been recast ostracized from the political fabric of Hauraki.

This does not excuse institutional practice which is discussed within this study to demonstrate the multifaceted nature of ideology as subjugation, oppression and domination.

> When we critically analyse the historical evidence of the Native Land Court, we see how people acting on stereotypical assumptions conspire to reproduce systemic oppression reinforcing what Tilly defines as "durable inequality".
>
> When we critically analyse the institutional structures of the Native Land Court and the Crown' the Treaty settlements process we see the paradoxical impact of how both positional and cultural difference is replicated, reinforcing inequality and injustice over time.
>
> When we critically analyse the power of Crown institutions and how hegemonic norms have been applied to the Treaty Settlements process, we see how oppression, marginalisation and cultural imperialism have attached to Ngāti Koi and successfully transmuted over time.

According to Tuhiwai Smith theories and the critical analysis that attends them explain, make sense of reality, predict and intervene (Smith, 1999, p. 29)

5.13 Language and identity

The core concepts discussed within this study are culture and iwi identity these I argue are interlinked by tūpuna narrative which creates praxis enabling transformation, revitalising iwi to make and remake their cultural identity. Central to this process is language which is the privileged medium where meaning is produced and exchanged. From this perspective, the study of language cannot be reduced to defining its mechanical features and or listing its historical development over time. The world of iwi and humankind is built through the meaning systems that characterise language and "these meaning systems cannot be interpreted in isolation, ignored, or remain within the exclusive domains of the positivist paradigms of science which holds that language can exist without its speakers" (Nieto, 2007).

Language, words, and the symbols of tūpuna narrative are the privileged mediums that conduct culture and meaning, whakapapa and identity. They convey epistemology, context, nuance, interpretation, history and experiences: each language moulded by the culture it conveys. I take a 'kaupapa Māori' structuralist approach which is composed of both semiotic and discursive elements for I seek to understand how meaning is constructed in and through language and its importance as the conveyor of tūpuna narrative (Pathak, 2010). Identity and language are linked. There can be no question of the importance of language to identity, in recent times this emphasis has sought to create a divide between those who speak and those who cannot speak Te Reo.

For some scholars te reo 'me,' ona tikanga are interlinked concepts one requires the other to be actualised: they cannot operate in isolation. Added to this are the voices of those who posit that one cannot consider themselves 'Māori' if they do not speak Te Reo (Karetu in Te Huia, 2015). In the 2016 Census, 36% of Māori registering to an iwi of Hauraki declared they were fully conversant in Te Reo. Where is the place for the remaining 64% who do not speak Te Reo and what of those such as my family, the majority of Ngāti Koi iwi, who on the one hand were denied the right to speak Te Reo but, were 'immersed' in the world of 'tikanga.'

To state that 'to be Māori' is dependent on certain factors such as fluency of the speaker forces identity onto or away from the body of colour, it stems from a cultural, academic imperialistic worldview "that consists in a group being invisiblized while at the same time it is marked out and stereotyped" (Young, 1990, p.122), (Pathak, 2012, p.3).

When those within 'the' group who are respected but, project their own values and perspectives and who speak as 'being' representative of the group renders not just those sections of an iwi being referred to, but the whole of Māoridom are marginalised as 'Other' in that their male voices, linked to the dominant voices of the white eurocentric male are held as normative and universal. This is the bald face of structural oppression it extends from nineteenth-century colonisation faithfully transposed into the twenty-first century: coming from within the ranks of 'respected' leaders legitimates oppression and silence (Young, 1990, p.123).

Victims of cultural imperialism cannot forget their group identity because the behaviour and reactions, the whānaungatanga bequeathed by cosmogony calls them home, back to the bowels of iwidom. Although I am a non-speaker of te reo I am a student of the social sciences – my honours and undergraduate degrees majored in both public policy public administration and sociology. The third important stream was that of Māori Development and political science. From these combined learnings my understandings are that tikanga as law and kawa underpin the traditions and mores of iwi. These are passed on, embedded from childhood through the socialisation methods and practices of parents and peers. Important to this learning cycle is the role of kaumātua (grandparents and their peers) who pass on their knowledges, they receive through tūpuna narrative, to their descendants.

I did not need to learn to Te Reo to know that there was work at our marae, there was 'work' to do on our whenua, there was 'work' to do for our iwi. My parents, with our eldest Aunt, took me to the land and to our marae. Speaking as the project manager for the rebuild of Ngahutoitoi Marae, as the Managing Trustee of our 438 farm blocks for over forty-seven 47 years, as the Manager of our Treaty Claim Wai 714, as a Treaty Negotiator for Ngāti Tara Tokanui, these tasks were completed because I had parents who lived in tikanga I am Ngāti Koi, Ngāti Tara Tokanui, Ngamarama. I am a coloured woman of iwi Māori descent sadly these worlds called not in that 'timeless karanga' of Te Reo but that of the 'other,' English.

Analysing key works of noted authors on identity such as (Erikson,1968; Kazakstein, 1996; Stryker & Sheldon, 1987; Tajfel, 1982; Taylor, 1989; Young, 1990) works are lauded by academia they are exponents of identity as a conceptual framework. Fearon concluded that:

> It may be that in specific cases it is better to dispense with "identity" and analyse instead the politics of social categories and the political implications of desires for dignity, honour, and self-respect. These are more concrete objects of analysis than "identity," which links together social categories and the sources of self-respect in a somewhat murky [unarticulated] way (Fearon, 1999, p.3).

Aspects of Fearon's standpoint hold relevance for this study. However, iwi are not solely ‘constructs’ a world conceptualised by that of Comte, Descartes and Thomas Hobbes. Without cultural approaches to identity, there is jeopardy that his analysis remains bereft, abject to Māori. Iwi are cultural ‘entities’ with political intentions their societies and traditions, epistemologies origin from Kaupapa Māori where whakapapa, whānaungatanga and tikanga provide the principle foundations. These are the ways iwi Māori define identity at a cultural, personal, a political a social level. Fearon's work is powerful, however, the world cannot be interpreted as a social construct only.

According to Smith, the politics of silencing identity are historically contingent: what is mentionable in one era may not be at another point in time (Smith, p. 2006, 225). This thesis agrees with Smith, acts of silencing codified within the architecture of narrative live on, they are purposive and continue over time. As Gittins explains: “silencing knows no timeframe, the erasure of memories erases the sense of who you are. Silence and power work hand in hand, the political value of what is forgotten reminds us of the deep connections between memory and freedom, a defining characteristic of being ‘free’ is knowing who you are and being able to exercise one’s autonomy in establishing who you identify with” (Gittens, 1998).

One of the thorny issues of writing a study on iwi is the place of ‘identity’ and its noun ‘identification.’ For Māori, the constituent elements that define iwi are based on whakapapa which remains unchangeable. A genetic principle, it defines the core essences of who we are as Māori and iwi. In modern scholarship, the term identity has been aligned with and expressed in the same breath as ‘whakapapa.’ For many scholars, they are regarded as being ‘one in the same,’ clearly, they are not. Whakapapa defines the core essences of an individual and how these emerge in socio-cultural situations, whereas identity concentrates on the later. When these two concepts have aligned a conflation of meaning occurs transforming the social, political, geographical and cultural landscapes creating what some call a ‘crisis of identity’ (Hall, 1996. p.3). As Mercer observes, identity only becomes an issue when it is in crisis when something assumed to be fixed is changed, when

something coherent and stable is displaced by the experience of doubt and uncertainty (In Hall, 1996, p.4).

Hall's theory of identity is the practice of identification, of being identified, it is the act of accepting the identity ascribed by another group or individual over a period of time. There are three forms of identity according to Hall firstly "there is the enlightenment subject: the fixed, never changing unified individual characteristics which remain continuous identical throughout the existence of the iwi. Secondly, there is the sociological subject and thirdly the post-modern subject.
It is the notion of the sociological subject that has relevance to this study. This concept reflects the complexity of the colonised world and the awareness that this inner core of the subject was not autonomous, self-sufficient and free but was formed by and in relation to 'significant others' who mediated the subject the values meanings and symbols of the world (iwi) inhabited" (ibid. p.3). This perspective helps us to understand how and why names change, and or why people, groups and individuals change their names over time. This chapter addresses what a "crisis of identity" meant for Ngāti Koi, what were the forces that precipitated it, what it consisted of and looked like 'on the ground'. The purpose of this discussion was to contextualise chapter six and to briefly sum how I have positioned the concept of identity within this study. I recognise that identity is a vast topic and any brief sketching of the concept runs the risk of oversimplifying, 'minimalizing' a complex, multifaceted term. This must be kept in mind while reading this overview.

Whakapapa is unchangeable, however, "all things in the social and cultural world changes." This is based on G.H. Mead and C.H Cooley's theory of symbolic interaction. They elaborated that this concept of self (iwi-being) is formed in the interaction between self and society. Iwi maintain their core inner self (whakapapa) but aspects of this are reformed in continuous dialogue with the cultural worlds – outside (external of the iwi) and the identities they offer.

"We project ourselves into these 'cultural' identities by internalizing their meanings and values making them a part of us, it helps to align, to understand our

subjective feelings with the *objective* places we occupy. Identity practices (whakawhānaungatanga) bridges that gap between the inside and outside, it contextualises but importantly it stitches our subjective selves (iwi and individual) into the structure where identity is formed, modified in the 'interaction' between self and society" (Hall, 1996, p.5).

5.14 Crisis of identity

The final question I seek to answer is: was there a 'crisis of identity' for Ngāti Koi prior to colonisation? If not knowing whakapapa and or the constituent elements that comprise identity can be defined as a crisis of identity for Ngāti Koi this situation did not exist, that is, until the advent of the Crown agent Mackay Jnr and the play of identity in modern times. From the narratives submitted by rangatira to the Native Land Court, Ngāti Koi had well established conceptual frameworks of iwi whakapapa which codifies identity and published prior to the advent of the Native Land Court. There was a well-established process of whānaungatanga, to make sense of, to understand and narrate the socio-cultural, political realities of their communities.

What we know is that the pre-colonisation societies of Ngāti Koi were self-sustaining independent polities, there was a recognised understanding of leadership, and there were clearly defined tikanga-laws in place. This distinguishes iwi as self-identifying autonomous groupings and Ngāti Koi tūpuna narrated this as nationhood which had been in place for over a millennium (Keenan, 2009). The resurrecting of their tūpuna narratives and applying these in a Treaty Settlement environment was a powerful transformative strategy that set the iwi into a progressive model of praxis which is the making and remaking of an iwi of their cultural, political and social identity.

The Native Land Court was a key feature of Ngāti Koi history and identity. A colonising agent, on the one hand, it was the archivist of vital tūpuna narratives, on the other 'it' enabled the reconstruction of Ngāti iwi identity where the Crown agent Mackay enabled the falsification and to insertion of false interpretations of Ngāti Koi whakapapa. This process was to have far-reaching effects spanning some 186 years. In the next chapter, I deal with the issues of falsifying Ngāti Koi whakapapa as a part of the wider process of colonisation of Aotearoa.

Chapter 6

Settlers: The Native Land Court

The archaeology of silence

(Ernest Laclau)

6.1 Introduction

An essential prerequisite of praxis is the importance of pausing and reflecting "of asking what is my story thus far? And to ask what kind of story have I been telling about my subject" (Cronon, 1992, p. 1370) the narrative practices of Ngāti Koi tūpuna? Therefore, before I continue this chapter it is important to take stock of where this study is positioned on the praxis cycle. In chapter one, I investigated the conscientisation of Ngāti Koi. Chapters three and four explored the conceptualising of praxis within a framework of 'Kaupapa Māori'. In chapter five I discussed issues of identity. Chapter four deals with matters relating to methodology.

Chapter two explores praxis as transformative change arranged in a sequenced progression of definitive stages transforming all things at a professional and personal level accordingly, in keeping faith with this principle I have aligned the chapters of this thesis to the key stages of praxis. In this regard, my progress in this study ought to have been positioned between the middle climes of reflection and transformation: poised at that offset point of the radius 'freefalling' into the end stages of the thesis. However, here I am at chapter six, reflecting, going back to the beginning scouring those darkly places of conflict and why? Because the story of colonisation has not ended. Having come thus far colonisation remained unknown, a spectre out there, a thing outside of my reality. I hear the voice of my colonised sceptic saying 'hey it's done, over, move on.' But! A higher calling bids whānaungatanga requires the face of 'kanohi ki te kanohi' and I needed to put a human face to colonisation and attach it to Ngāti Koi reality. 'Mā muri ā mua, ka tika' enables this reflection: it is the bringing of the elements of 'muri' – the past, into 'mua' – the present discussion as knowledges for the future. For this study, a

future that draws on the past is the basis of theory and theorizing: its chief object is to 'contribute to' the epistemological practices of Māori.

To some extent I am loathed to tell this sequel of the story for to tell regurgitates the negative aspects of a dimly past, it confronts, it requires naming and where the separation of the moral from the immoral, the 'good' from the 'bad,' story becomes narrative. For Cronon, this is the act of separating story from non-story but, in doing so we wield the most powerful yet dangerous tool of the narrative form. When we write stories about … change, we divide the causal relationships of an ecosystem with a rhetorical razor that defines included and excluded, relevant and irrelevant, empowered and disempowered (Cronon, 1992, p. 1349).

I have tried to be true to the facts without falling into a postmodernist trap of the endless deconstruction of events that occurred in the past. New Zealand's literary archive abound with stories that list facts, that interpret by making obtuse connections between event 'A' and outcome 'B.' These studies are important, however where they are not consistently grounded in; 'māmuri āmua ka tika' iwi context, history, institutional politics, the moral problems of living: they continue a positivist accounting of history and the incessant banality that attends colonisation is masked reduced to the recounting of 'past events.' What I propose is that the interpretation and analysis of the faces of colonisation be elucidated through the methodology of narrative practice "because, according to Cronon (1992), 'these narrative practices' become our 'chief moral compass in the world" (p. 1374).

Contextualised by the principle of whakapapa Cronon's concept of 'narrative as a moral force,' is applied in this chapter to guide my exploration of the people who embedded colonisation and who they were? Were their roles explicitly defined in a finite job description and when the task of colonisation was completed did they leave? And if not why, what were the consequences for Ngāti Koi?

But what does British 'colonisation' look like when it first turns up in the community? Whose face does it have? Does it have a name and if so whose name does it bear? What brought them here – and to do what? Did they come here for

humanitarian reasons were they peoples from Ireland ravaged from ‘the’ potato famine, were they the ‘dispossessed’ of the Highland Scottish clearances, did they leave under dire life-threatening circumstances that epitomize the movements of large populations in late modernity? And if they were, what were their settler stories that silenced the narratives of tūpuna and turned the narrative of Aotearoa into the story of New Zealand?

The act of embedding colonisation in Aotearoa required armed and naval forces, political infrastructure, Crown agents, it also took a settler populace driving and embedding project colonisation at a local level, these I refer to as the face of colonisation.

For Barker and Lowman:

> “settler colonisers come to stay,
> settler-colonial invasion is an imposed western structure it is not a one-off act or single event, it is ongoing.
> settler colonialism persists in the ongoing elimination of indigenous populations,
> it is acultural, a-ethnic and a-social it is blind to the people it ‘serves’ it abolishes difference in the form of being embedded in an unchallenged state and people,
> colonialism maintains colonial allegiance to the metropole England asserts false narratives and structures of settler belonging” (Barker & Lowman, 2015).

6.1.1 What is this chapter about?

There are two sections to this chapter. In this first section, I overview the 19th-century settlement of Aotearoa and the role of the Native Land Court established to transfer land and resources from Māori to the new British settlers. Land and gold brought the many settlers to the Ohinemuri settlers hungry for gold and the riches it promised where independent iwi politys held uninterrupted sovereignty stretching back beyond a millennium. In this context I ‘story’ the first settler family to Paeroa and their contact with Te Keepa and Ngāti Koi. The object of their association was to colonise re-patriating the places of iwi narrative saturating and changing the landscape of whakapapa and identity.

In section two: I briefly explore the settlement phase of James Mackay Jnr and his family to provide a background view of how specific cultural forces shaped Mackay and his dealings with Māori. While the Crown created the conditions of deconstruction of Ngāti Koi tino-rangatiratanga it was the strategies of James Mackay Jnr that lead to its 19th-century demise. The local institutional face I discuss a number of key roles he undertook, the relationships he established and the strategies he sculpted that were to have an enduring impact on Hauraki iwi and Ngāti Koi.

6.2 Establishment of colonial New Zealand: settlers come to stay

"Settler colonialism persists in the ongoing elimination of indigenous populations, indigenous culture and the assertion of state sovereignty and juridical control over their lands. Despite notions of post-coloniality, settler-colonial societies do not stop being colonial when political allegiance to the founding metropole is severed"
(Barker and Lowman, 2015).

In 1840 there were about 2000 non-Māori living in New Zealand, although the numbers of British people who had lived temporarily in New Zealand was much greater. Many of the early British settlers came via New South Wales. Some were surveyors, sealers or whalers; others were escaped convicts seeking a new chance; others were traders linking the Sydney based mercantile world with the Māori communities, and a few came as missionaries.

For the period 1840 – 1852, there were three main flows of British and Irish migrants. The largest number came as assisted immigrants to the five New Zealand Company Settlements - in 1840-2 from 1848-52 there was a renewed assisted migration first to Otago and then to Canterbury. The second flow was of free migrants, many coming across the Tasman. They made a major contribution to the population of Auckland province and included a substantial number of Irish migrants. Third, there was a military presence - over 700 men who were discharged from British regiments had come to New Zealand for the Northern War of 1845-6, and over 2500 men, women and children who came to New Zealand as the Royal New Zealand Fencibles to provide military protection in the area south of Auckland" (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2014).

6.2.1 The story of the local face of colonisation

A number of these settlers arrived in the Ohinemuri seeking to pursue their various personal interests by attempting to influence the unfolding of events and exploit whatever opportunities they could identify. Joshua Thorp was one such a settler, the first English settler to Paeroa he immigrated from Sheffield England and lived for a period of time in New South Wales. Trained as a land surveyor and engineer Thorp migrated to New Zealand, in 1842 he established a farm on the outskirts of Paeroa township. Wanting to be closer to Auckland he purchased land in Clevedon donating two acres for a church, dedicated by Bishop Selwyn. A redoubt was built behind the church and became the main base for troop operations in the Māori Wars of the late 1800s (Monin, 2001), (Anglican Parish Pamphlet, Clevedon, 2018). Thorp saw boundless opportunities in the vastly 'unoccupied' waste tracks of land and sought to irreparably change the landscape, the destiny of Aotearoa as a farming, agricultural producer. These changes were not simply related to the land and geography they had far-reaching social and cultural ramifications.

By 1840 the insertion of Britain as the new world order in Aotearoa was almost complete, what was not tested was the how, how 'on' the ground would the insertion of things England work. In the same manner of settlers such as Butler in Kerikeri: who used the first European plough. Wright who imported sheep, Thorp charted a vessel laden with livestock and the accoutrements of settlement to establish large-scale farming, he built barracks for soldiers to protect his investment. In the summer of 1849-50 he entertained Governor Grey, the trees in the orchard were laden with fruit, the land producing wheat, potatoes and grass, there was an apiary of forty hives. The Gove'nor's considerations of Thorp as a "settler of a very fine type" demonstrated more, the successful localised transplant of England to Paeroa.

It is Thorp's petitioning of the Crown parliaments in both New Zealand and England that puts the act of settlement into a cultural construct. The interpretation of Aotearoa as 'wasteland' 'savage land' with fertile climate are the elements of discourse: they have embedded double meanings, they mystify the intentions of the speaker/writer, they embed the principles of a culture hungry for domination.

In 1843 Thorp wrote to Lord Stanley complaining of Stanley's pound-an-acre-Act, which in Thorp's opinion limited the active settlement of New Zealand which he described as moderate colonisation.

> "My Lord, the present state of New Zealand, and my interest therein as a settler are the motives for writing this letter…. From what I first saw of New Zealand, and what I now know, I have concluded it to be well adapted for moderate colonisation, allowing settlers to select the most favourable situation to purchase of the natives, or of the government at a cheap rate. A pound an acre is a prohibitory price government has sold no land at that rate, except a few patches near Auckland, too limited for the general purposes of farming. The principle of selling wastelands at a pound an acre, instead of five shillings, (their maximum value all over the world) has arisen, I believe, from some fanciful theories of making a Colony support itself, by exacting a high price for land, to compel the concentration of settlers, to expend half the proceeds in deporting labourers for their use, to restrict them from leaving the market, and to force what may be termed a precocious maturity of society….New Zealand, therefore, it remains a savage land with a fertile climate, and abundance of soil suitable for cultivation there is still very little of it exhibiting the cheering marks of industry. I am willing to hope that Your Lordship will take into consideration the expediency of advising the revision, or suspension, of the 'pound-an-acre-Act,' at least as regards this colony …Joshua Thorp.

From his letter, Joshua saw himself in much the same vein as the Commonwealth Covenanters of the 1950s; as a coloniser, settler, a cultivator of barren land, the tamer of the savage. John Thorp was the son of Joshua he befriended Ngāti Koi, in particular, Te Keepa Raharuhi. "On returning to Ohinemuri after three months in Otago he goes prospecting in Rotokohu and Karangahake with Te Keepa Raharuhi. In May 1862 he writes Keepa and I went to the mountains to look for gold. ^{At} 1st, found 2 specks but none after we had gone 20 miles in the mountains" (Thorp, 1967, p.1).

From all appearances, the substance of the relationship between Thorp and Te Keepa was one of neighbourly 'friend,' employer and employee. "When Te Keepa employed Thorp to survey their Ohinemuri blocks the survey work was for a much wider area than simply the Owharoa block.

"The Owharoa block was one of two blocks of Ngāti Koi land surveyed at Ohinemuri, and Ngāti Koi were also claiming the whole Waihi block area which contained the ancient seaward fortress, Tawhitiaraia, an area they had surveyed into two divisions of 1825 acres and 1500 acres. The intention of the survey was to bring the land before the Native Land Court so that Te Keepa and Ngāti Koi could establish a common law title to the land. This indicates that Te Keepa was confident that he could establish his title through his ancestral occupation and identification of the boundaries, settlements, cultivations and burial sites on the land" (Bassett & Kay, 2001, p.65).

Thorp acted as a classic entrepreneur committed to the project of settlement and establishment of his family in these new, and at times, hostile conditions hostilities that were alleviated by the benevolence of Te Keepa and Ngāti Koi. As well as directly benefiting from the relationship with Keepa, by becoming the sole benefactor of major parcels of Ngāti Koi land. His relationship as a surveyor for the government put him in a prime situation. "Thorp appraised local iwi and relayed this information to the government breaching fundamental ethics as his dual roles clearly breached a conflict of interest" (ibid. 2001, 64).

6.2.2 Supporting the colonisation effort

"In 1876 John Thorp wrote to McLean about the restrictions proclaimed by the Government prohibiting the private purchase of land within the goldfields district. Thorp was referring to deeds of purchase of three small blocks (not named, but probably including Owharoa) which he was unable to have witnessed. Thorp referred to a previous letter (missing) setting out the `great 'loss' he would suffer if the purchases were unable to proceed. It would appear that the Thorps had expended large sums of money, but it is not clear whether those sums were direct-purchase payments or represented advances made for survey cost or food supplies.

Thorp appealed for assistance from McLean as payment for the assistance he had given the Crown in the past in opening up the area for gold mining and maintaining peaceful relations with local Māori:

> Considering the assistance that I have rendered to the Government in opening Ohinemuri and in maintaining the peace of the Country I think it would only be a graceful act on your part to a son of an old colonial friend to remove these restrictions at once and thus save me from further loss and anxiety. The transfer of Owharoa to A.J. Thorp was officially executed by a deed signed the beginning of 'gold fever' in Ohinemuri is usually dated to the late 1860s.

This was an opportunity for Ngāti Koi to generate and accumulate wealth by utilising their land and the gold that was held therein. Te Keepa responded to the new type of economic production as he saw this not only as a solution to the mounting court costs that resulted from the continued defending of Ngāti Koi rohe that had been divided into blocks for a public individual title. But he also saw the opportunities for the development of the goldfields by bringing together the elements to make a successful entrepreneurial business which was to combine the technical 'expertise' of the new European settlers and his rights as a chief with extensive entrepreneurial skills. He knew the jargon that Europeans utilised, but he was mostly interested in the gold that was discovered and in 1875 was willing to negotiate mining rights with the Crown.

> "In 1867, while negotiating for the Thames goldfield, the Superintendent of Auckland promised mutual benefits would flow from allowing the Crown to control gold mining on Māori land: 'If we unite in this way, we shall have treasures and riches, become a great people, and have everything that the heart can desire...This requires co-operation, mutual aid and assistance…Your children will be benefited, our children will be benefited.'

This view is consistent with the colonial rhetoric of the time promoting a *shared* prosperity. The relationship between Te Keepa and Thorp illustrates the different

agenda that Māori and Pākehā were working to, for while Te Keepa and Ngāti Koi were looking to establish a partnership with the useful newcomers, the colonists were not envisaging a relationship of mutual benefit but rather how they could position themselves successfully within the newly settled land. Thorp and his family were to continue to have a close relationship with Te Keepa and his people, including many financial and land transactions with Ngāti Koi and Ngāti Tokanui. Both John and his brother A.J. Thorp were acquiring blocks from Māori during this period. In the next two months Ohinemuri Māori, including Ngāti Koi, was reported to be starving and short of food and money. At some time between the end of 1870 and 1877, Ngāti Koi agreed to sell the Owharoa block to A.J. Thorp, their surveyor and had other trading relationships with them … selling the block was the only way to support themselves at that time. It is likely that he may have obtained ownership of Owharoa in payment for money owed to him (ibid. p.79).

According to Barker and Lowman (2015) "settler notions of 'being settled' assert state sovereignty and it persists in the ongoing elimination of indigenous populations it acts in accordance with its sponsors and inculcates colonisation" (p.3). As Native Secretary McLean drafted the Native Land Act 1873 this was a major reform of Māori land law which required all landowners rather than ten (10), to be named on the 'certificate of title.'

> "People such as Thorp who were familiar with the Native Land Court and its systems reinforced institutional decisions by naming their cultural and social links, regardless of how distant and obscure they were, in 1876 he appealed for assistance from McLean as payment for opening up the area for gold mining and maintaining peaceful relations with local Māori: Considering the assistance that I have rendered to the Government in opening Ohinemuri and in maintaining the peace of the Country I think it would only be a graceful act on your part to a son of an old colonial friend to remove these restrictions at once and thus save me from further loss and anxiety" (Bassett & Kay, 2001, p. 47).

6.2.3 Kaimai Windfarm

Through prudent farming practices, their social connectedness and accumulated asset wealth over time the Ngāti Koi land brought by the Thorp's has remained largely intact. At the Pukemokemoke title investigation in 1892 Te Keepa said that Ngahutoitoi, Otamaurunganui and Pukemokemoke were, along with other Ngāti Tokanui blocks, originally all part of the same land and stressed that it was common even in his time to go from one kainga to another (Te Raharuhi, HMB 5, 23 May 1870, p. 67). They were all within very close range of each other. The blocks, along with Wairahaki, Te Koronae, Rotokohu, Hararahi and Piraurahi are all situated on the land between the Ohinemuri and Waihou rivers, just south of Paeroa.

Over the past two months, Ngāti Tara Tokanui have been drafting a response to a 'resource consent' process by the Hauraki District Council objecting to the establishment of a wind farm consisting of 24 wind turbines. The land on which the Kaimai Wind Farms are proposed to be established is the mana-whenua of Ngāti Tara Tokanui it includes, Mangamutu, Te Paeroa and Pukemokemoke. Largely a valley the blocks are nestled between Karangahake and Te Raeotepapa these Maunga hold a double significance located at the extreme end they symbolise a taonga of Ngāti Koi, they hold significance for Hauraki iwi as the anchor of the Kaimai Mamaku Ridgelines.

> **Wahi Tapu Otara** is a stone on Pukemokemoke hill. Located on the North West End boundary. This important marker links Te Kaha a stump of Tawa, to Tutae o Teuru: A Karaka Tree. These are the divisions marking the land known as Pukemokemoke and Te Paeroa. BMP 014. (Raharuhi, 1892, HMB 29, p.45)
>
> **Urupa: Rauwharangi**
>
> Is a burial place of Ngamarama and Ngāti Tokanui: the many interned include the major ancestral lines from Rauwharangi to Te Mimiha, the Chief Toka his wife Whiria they are buried at Rauwharangi urupa. The road running to Te Aroha is near Rauwharangi a burying place (Te Mimiha, 1892, HMB 29, p.32,52).

This land was sold to the Thorp Bros in 1975 for £10.500. What was not sold is the whakapapa connectedness to urupa, wahi tapu, the sacred places that proliferate throughout the blocks: the memories and cultural narratives of iwi.

Table 6.1: Ngāti Koi blocks sold to the Thorp Family

Pukemokemoke 1C 1B2A 1B2B	Thorp Bros. for $10,700. Thorp Bros £40 Thorp Bros £1317	In 1970 350-acre block The total Pukemokemoke 610 acres (Bassett & Kay, 2001, p.168).
The Rotokohu 5A1 block, 15 acres	F. Thorp £44	1949
Rotokohu 5B2A Rotokohu 5B2B	Thorp Bros £950 Thorp Bros £450	1964
Otamaurunganui block	Alfred Thorp,	1877 1678 acres ((Bassett & Kay, 2001, p.168)
The transfer of Owharoa to A.J. Thorp was officially executed by a deed signed by six out of the seven owners dated January 1877		1877
Otamaurunganui A	Awarded to Thorp on division, sold by Te Keepa and party before	1882.
Owharoa A	AJ Thorp	2015 acres ((Bassett & Kay, 2001, p.168)
Waihi 4 south Waihi 4 North	£45 J Thorp	

According to Bassett & Kay, as a result of the 1870 Native Land Court hearings, Ngāti Koi had only received title to little more than 150 acres of land, although they had employed Thorp to survey approximately 3000 acres. There is no evidence of how they paid Thorp for his survey, but it is most likely that they were in debt to either him or John Thorp. Despite all this expenditure (or debt), which had been incurred with the aim of then leasing the land for mining, the outcome of the 1870 court cases was that the Crown still did not feel confident about proclaiming the district as a goldfield. Therefore, the revenue which Ngāti Koi had

anticipated they could earn from Owharoa and Waihi did not eventuate. They were quickly faced with the need to sell land to repay their debts, much of their land was sold to the Thorps (Bassett & Kay, 2001, p. 234).

6.2.4 What is the academic 'face' of the settler?

One of the reasons I have not followed a strict itemisation of Ngāti Koi/Ngāti Tara Tokanui history is that narrative study is not about recounting events, colonisation according to Social Theory 101 is not an event. It is a structure institutionally financed, politically enabled, culturally embedded and socially enacted. Therefore, traditional modes of research are unsuitable for analysing, examining and reconstructing colonisation. They require discursive, 'interpreted' approaches of the complex multi-layered historical and personal events that confronted iwi, Māori and Ngāti Koi.

The role of 'befriending' the local indigenous is an important agenda item of colonisation. The Covenanters were financially and politically enabled to 'bring their missions to civilise the local natives' and alike the nineteenth-century settlers they "came to stay." Unlike colonial agents such as traders, soldiers, or governors, settler collectives intend to permanently occupy and assert sovereignty over indigenous lands and indigenous people.

Confronted with the large-scale settlement: social and economic changes were being experienced by Hauraki Māori, land and resources were dwindling quickly transferring to Pākehā (Bassett & Kay, 2001, p.69). Coupled with the increasing expense of participating in the colonial economy, debt and the depression (Monin, 2001, p.202) all contributed to the loss of key pa sites, wahi tapu, land the markers of Ngāti Koi identity. Te Keepa continually struggled to maintain the integrity, mana and well-being of Ngāti Koi in the face of the challenges of major social, economic and political forces unleashed by the embedding of the colonial state. These created tensions and unease disputes 'broke out' and firearms, freely made available to specific iwi rangatira, became the instruments of dispute settlement. Whoever could gain the upper hand won the land, the maunga, the rivers, sea and the sky above it (Bassett & Kay, 2001, p.70).

6.2.5 Iwi: disputes, settlements: context

The process of settling disputes their mediation and settlement are embedded in Māori society they result from the actions taken by Tāne-Mahuta and his siblings to permanently separate their parents Papatūānuku and Ranginui. This created rain, condensation, cloud, fog and mist represent the constant grieving, the weeping of Papa and Rangi longing for each other. Tāne-Mahuta did not achieve the separation of his parents alone, in isolation, this was an agreement based on consensus between 'he' and his siblings. They deliberated: some disagreed, theories were tested and methods of how the strategy would be accomplished were reflected on, each step refining their actions. The atua Tāwhiri-mātea rejected the plan his objections materialise as storms, hurricanes and meteorological 'disturbances on the world.' Tāne-Mahuta took the final considered action. These principles, of kanohi ki te kanohi, wananga, agreement, reflection underpin and guide the essential conventions "mores' the dispute settlement procedures of iwi.

A legacy of cosmogony: these procedures reflect praxis they serve as a guide for Māori undertaking radical change. Events leading up to and the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi reflect this process. The document was taken throughout Aotearoa seeking consent from rangatira, kaumātua and chief who deliberated on its implications. Far from the stories of goodwill and principle enshrined within the Treaty the narrative of colonisation had arrived with all its accoutrements intact; the ship to bring the settler, the instruments of war to protect the settler and the system of justice to legalise the settlement of the settler.

The Native Land Court was established to move land and resources from Māori to settler a clone of the English justice system it "created a highly contested environment 'of pitting iwi against iwi" (Bassett & Kay, 2001). By ignoring the embedded systems of dispute settlement, the Native Land Court became the institutional face of injustice creating a legacy: of distrust, pauperisation and the silencing of iwi narrative.

6.2.6 The Native Land Court and Ngāti Koi.

Iwi whakapapa re-constructed to expedite Crown outcomes is an aberration of justice it is theft of personal, tribal and iwi identity.

In this section, I review aspects of the Bassett & Kay research report for Wai 714 discussing activities within the Court to illustrate how stories have taken outside of their context and unfettered by cultural narrative became powerful mechanisms altering the understandings of what iwi perceive themselves to be. I commence with a sketch of the constitutional arrangements of the Native Land Court when 'it' first came into contact with independent iwi polities such as the Ngāti Koi of Hauraki.

The court hearings did not provide a neutral forum for the recounting of tribal history, events were influenced by wider political concerns on the part of both Māori and the Crown. The evidence given to the Native Land Court was not practised in an open forum of a wānanga where kaumātua shared their traditional kōrero but was given by selected witnesses with a vested interest in the outcome of the title investigation (Bassett, Kay, 2001, p.7). The minuted recordings of the Native Land Court are viewed by some Pākehā historians and Māori as a repository of traditional tribal history. However, it needs to be remembered that New Zealand imported the statutes and common law of England 'in effect' as of 1840 (D Elias,2015, Blogs) in this manner it facilitated the introduction of English law a conduit through which the pre-existing separate legal system known as tikanga Māori was assimilated, corseted, into the straight jacket of jurisprudence.

Its first task was to assimilate native title into an individualised form of English tenure to facilitate the rapid transfer of land out of Māori hands into Crown and settler hands (Williams, 2001, p.4) So how did the Court treat tikanga Māori as a jurisprudential issue asks Chief Judge Joe Williams, "by reducing extraordinarily complicated tikanga whenua or customs in relation to land to four sources of the title take' raupatu (right by conquest), take' tūpuna (ancestral right), take taunaha (to claim land by naming) and take tuku (gifting) vastly oversimplified matters. These all consumated [contextualised, my word] by ahikāroa (occupation). (Williams, 2001, p.3).

It ‘melted’ principles developed over a millennium into the constitutional corsetry of an imported system, ‘it’ over-simplified complicated principles deliberated in ‘kanohi ki te kanohi’ (face to face arrangements) facilitated by rangatira. It is not the intent of this study to discuss how the land court was contrary to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, but to state that in all aspects the Native Land Court its processes, its constitutional and principal base was an adulteration of the principles, the intent, the goodwill of iwi and those who signed the Treaty of Waitangi. The aims and procedures of the Native Land Court, under the legislation governing the court, created a highly contested environment. The facilitator of evidence, the final decision-maker of all things within its scope the Court acted alongside the Crown agents such as the Civil Commissioners, Arbitrators, court staff.

The Native Land Court and the Crown Agents it deployed played an integral part in the social formations and identity of Ngāti Koi. The key source of Ngāti Koi traditional history is the evidence given to the Native Land Court primarily Hauraki Minute Book no 5. However, events in the court were influenced by a preconceived view of Māori tribal structures as well as wider political concerns on the part of both Māori and the Crown, and court hearings did not provide a neutral forum for the recounting of tribal history. The evidence given to the Native Land Court did not result from wananga or hui where points of discord and difference were settled by a consensual arrangement but by selected witnesses many of whom with a vested interest in the outcome of the title investigation.

In 1871 the Crown sought opinions on the working of the Native Land Court. Dr Shortland, a Māori scholar and former native secretary, commented on the way that cases in the court heightened conflict between competing claimants. Shortland was learned in things Māori, he had an extensive understanding of the critical elements that characterized Māori, chief among these was his understanding of whakapapa both as a system of classification but more importantly as a guiding framework for the oral histories being received by the Court.

According to Boast Shortland "proposed that the judge should establish a register of Native titles undertake his inquiries and develop expertise in the tribal history of his district record names of tribe or tribes and of hapū(s), and the names of as many as possible of the persons of each hapū, including heads of families interested. was confident…that a reliable written history could be assembled from oral testimony given in the court" (Boast, 2017, p146).

"Like Fenton, Shortland understood the importance of the centrality of whakapapa based narratives as reliable and a framework on which much else was draped. This was not the bare recollection of names but related the most remarkable actions connected with the lives of their distant ancestors' Elaborate histories 'seemed to be preserved in their retentive memories, handed down from father to son nearly in the same words as originally delivered." Shortland's analysis indicates not so much that land claims were supported by whakapapa but the opposite- that whakapapa was important because it was the foundation of rights to land.

> This was why it is important for whakapapa to be remembered [narrated and recited] -my words, but also why it could often be contested. It also provided a framework for the recording and recollection of history, again because 'rights to land' rested on historical foundations and precise events: actual battles, victories and defeats, gifts and peacemakings, invasions and migrations they are premised on whakapapa and where this is absent, [intermarriage] the descent lines between people and the land are questioned" (Boast, 2017, p.149.)

"The Native Land Court has been the subject of a large body of literature in New Zealand, much of it negative focusing principally on its legal and social effects. The court's historical importance is not, however, solely a matter of its records and or its archival research. The court both facilitated and was actively engaged in the development of a type of historical literature which is of considerable cultural and intellectual importance: the literary tribal history. Such works could not exist

but for the vast amount of Māori historical testimony found in the minute books" (Boast, 2017, p. 145). Considering the role of 'Shortland' a Native Land Court interpreter provides a historiography important to iwi, historians: the vast array of historical accounts received by Waitangi Tribunal are primarily drawn from its archives. In this manner, it forms an important part of New Zealand historical literature because tūpuna provided the narratives that form this historiography (Boast, 2017, p. 155).

> "The court's records form a unique body of material which historians and ethnographers have long mined and no doubt will continue to do so. In fact, it can be put more strongly: without the court's records, many standard works of New Zealand history could hardly be imagined. Moreover, the Waitangi Tribunal inquiries of the present day, while tending to focus on the destructive effects of the court and the Native Lands Acts, depend to a significant degree on the records of the court as a foundation for its own investigations and reports" (Boast, 2017, p.158).

This study concurs with the conclusions outlined by Boast: the court's cultural and historiographical legacies, its tūpuna narratives now form a vital and important archive of New Zealand's intellectual history. Not all aspects of the court were 'destructive' there were many positive outcomes for Ngāti Koi and indeed the wider New Zealand historiography 'intellectual' culture. The Native Land Court had and continues to play an important role for iwi and Māori. Today the narratives of Te Keepa Raharuhi, archived in the Native Land Court, acted as a repository of important tribal history providing the framework, which leads to iwi praxis for modern-day Ngāti Koi.

Mana whenua is not reliant on defending or castigating an imported justice system such as the Native Land Court. It lies in the whakapapa the whānaungatanga practices the undisturbed connectedness of a people with whenua – their land which holds the proof of history such as established pa and village, urupa, wahi

tapu, their named koiwi in the soil, the rights to name the soil-the awa and sea, names that remain over the centuries and are utilised today this is the fullness of the proof required (Boast, 2017). Without the whakapapa and narratives of tūpuna progress for successive generations of Ngāti Koi would have been poised at the commencement stages of the praxis cycle. In the next section, I focus on the actions of the Crown through its agent James Mackay Jnr exploring how he contributed to the demise of Ngāti Koi identity and attempts by tūpuna to refute "the re-imaging, the cultural redefining of the social and geographical landscape, the cultural spaces he re-authored" (Hemi Whaanga, personal communication, October, 2018).

6.3 Embedding colonisation: The Re-imaging of Hauraki

This chapter examines sites of iwi identity contestation and the role of the Crown when it first came into contact with stable iwi polity/s established in the southeast regions of Hauraki. This institutional setting radically altered indigenous structures, systems of meaning and processes of identity negotiation, contestation, and repair which, within a pre-contact Māori context, has always been determined by whakapapa. The focus is not so much on this institution *per se*, but on the intentions, agendas, interactions, responses between key institutional actors, iwi and Pākehā living within the Ohinemuri District at the time and the way in which these relations were shaped and constrained by this institution and its agents.

6.3.1 Theorising settler: the making of meaning

Before I continue with this chapter, I set out the theoretical framing I have applied to understand the embedding of colonisation in Aotearoa and importantly how it continues unabated in a more sophisticated form. I have applied a kaupapa Māori interpretive approach as I seek to understand issues of culture and socialisation through the examination of coloniser discourses in relation to their social and cultural determinants the context of their production. I draw on elements of the principle of 'whakawhānaungatanga' extrapolated across the wider society to understand issues of culture, relationality and how 'meaning' systems are made. In this regard, meanings are made through shared collective arrangements that take into account a physical, social, ethnic and cultural connectedness.

According to Hall, "culture consists of the maps of meaning and meaning arises because of the shared conceptual maps, we become cultural subjects when we internalise the world. The world remains unintelligible until we build the shared conceptual maps where the systems of classification used in a society are learnt" (Challenging Media Oct 2006).

Narratives of socialisation are powerful in that they carry, re-present and create meaning. The methods applied by the senior members of the Commonwealth Covenant Church: of shouting into the mouths of children held open by strong hands to teach the syllables of 'speaking in tongues' went beyond acceptable standards of instilling values. It was a brutal and abusive method of socialisation an attempt to obliterate the presence of another culture - that of iwi Māori.

Not all socialisation practices of embedding identity are as tangible as the methods practised by the Commonwealth Covenanters; as something we can see, something concrete, they are not. However, they render the same results which are carried in the hearts and minds of the bearer repeated as mores, behaviour, social and cultural practices. They are learnt through determined and or subtle inculcation. They result from not only the effects of socialisation but, "the interaction an individual has with their environment and the natural world coalesce influencing individual behavioural outcomes" (Kender & Barker, 2007, p. 616). The model of socialisation applied in this study stems from sociology to elucidate how parents, family and peers" become important social and cultural determinants instiling and moulding the value systems that underpin the behaviours and practices of a colonising agent (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p.185).

However, the veracity of 'sociology' as a field of study is questioned. Homan's (2000b) study points to sociology as "implicitly psychological and individualistic" (Homans, in Black 2000b, p.704), Bruhn (2001, p.189) note that "a re-labelling of the science is required due to its failure to develop a 'grand theory of society,' Cole (1994, p. 129) addressing issues of organisational retrenchment, whole department shutdown, questions "why the discipline has failed to live up to its promise?" in a similar vein, Bryant, & Becker (1990) question its achievements.

In my own research after reviewing the appropriate sociological literature, I found the following lacunae in the relationship between conceptual fabric and the phenomenon under study. This was more than a story of class, race, feminism, norms-values and peer pressure. I needed a conceptual space; "to name the ontology" (Pathak, 2010, p.6), designated by kaupapa, a methodological framework that held the mana (power, integrity) of kinship authority to stand in its own right. I needed a space to place the tools of narrative, critical kaupapa Māori, whakapapa and whānaungatanga: these simply did not fit a sociological construct.

The shortcomings of the discipline are noted by Cole (1994) in his report on 'Sociology;' "that theory development tends to follow fads rather than make progress and the failure of the products of the discipline to be relevant for solving social problems in the society remains" (p.2). What this means is that the focus of the discipline has moved away from a critical engagement of seeking to understand the constitutive framing of society. Moreover, these matters are not confined solely to sociology they haunt the political and cultural studies disciplines alike. According to Stuart Hall "what is required is an expanding of a Marxist tradition of critical thinking of questions of ideology, he is not advocating for a wholesale return to Marxism but a conjunctural analysis that articulates how the ensemble of power relations between the economic, social, political and cultural spheres interlock. This requires our attention, for if Marxism is not re-engaged to some extent 'cultural studies' seems to have lost its way" (MEFblog. Feb, 2013).

By applying a narrative-kaupapa Māori mode of inquiry 'issues' took a different shape: moving a story of woe and despair to a narrative of revitalisation and iwi reclamation. After reviewing the theory and empirical literature a method was created to navigate the theoretical intersections: core 'sociology' concepts such as 'critical,' 'praxis' and 'socialisation' arrayed outside the more relevant, robust disciplines such as kaupapa Māori.

As a result, a number of positive outcomes were achieved firstly: I was able to develop a conceptual model to make sense of the issues confronting Ngāti Koi and extrapolate these to a wider context secondly: after reflecting on the learnings I was able to more fully understand my own personal experiences and those of my family in our early encounters with the Commonwealth Covenant Church.

However, given the persistence of colonisation in Aotearoa more conceptual work is required. Longitudinal conjunctural analysis of how culture yokes and maintains 'specific' relations of power requires multi-level conceptual modes of inquiry, it calls for empirical and narrative qualitative analysis.

6.3.2 Meaning making

Whānaungatanga is utilised in this study as the principle of articulating-establishing relationships, I have added the article *whaka* to this word which according to the online Māori Dictionary 'causes something to happen' (whaka, n.d). Therefore, whakawhānaungatanga is applied in this section as a conceptual korowai that theorizes the relations and associations that comprise a 'milieu' and their social and cultural determinants. These contexts are not static or fixed but dynamic and close-ended, they are ongoing due to being constantly contested, redefined and reshaped by 'particular' socio-cultural actors, and, or agents throughout history (Pahmi Winter, 2000). Within the context of New Zealand these relations are inherently dialectical they result from 'struggle' elements of which are negotiation, resistance transformation. Therefore, they are 'problematical' due to the nature of their relationships which are contradictory, constantly in flux and incomplete (the latter statements are not referenced they are the culmination of this work and draw on the works of Marx's-negation and dialectics).

Colonisation is not something that "disappears like the early morning fog" (Gibbons, 2002, p.2) a 'thing' out there locked in the 19th century. It was brought to Aotearoa by "specific social and cultural formations configured in ways that continue to reproduce all the forms of colonisation" in a modern epoch (Grossberg, 2016). As an ideological tool colonisation is encoded in the narratives

of enculturation and socialisation it is embedded in the 'Janus' doubleness of a Crown bearing an institutional, private human face. This is why a kaupapa Māori interpretive approach is important: it brings into focus how cultural mechanisms and social formations transmute conferring unbridled power into the singular hands of an institutional agent, a person.

6.3.3 What this section is about

This section focuses on James Mackay Jnr. "Utilising 'words' as the interpretive tools" I have applied a narrative methodology to bring together disjointed fragments of story's, interpretations of memorabilia, 'pieces' of information "to interpret" and make sense of the complex facade that attends colonisation (Thompson, 2018). While institutional forces were the main factors that contributed to the deconstruction of Ngāti Koi iwi praxis, it was the strategies of James Mackay Jnr acting as the Crown's principal agent that played 'the' key role in driving its demise (Waitangi Tribunal, 2006, p.810). Rather than adopt an approach which is determined by the benefit of hindsight and regurgitate the weighty evidence produced for the Hauraki Treaty Settlements I utilise the letters and evidential material to show how the insertion of Pākehā (colonisation) transformed Ngāti Koi life. This happened bit by bit, event by event.

6.3.4 My intent in this section is to:

- provide a background of the socialisation processes that influenced the decision-making applied by Mackay in his role as a Crown agent,
- examine a number of the strategies applied by Mackay the face of institutional colonisation of Hauraki and how he came to inhabit, to name and assign meaning, to re-allocate the hallowed spaces of Ngāti Koi.
- ensure the ongoing access and engagement of the material within this study therefore given the 'distance' from the 'Glossary' I have provided a brief description of terms in Te Reo.

6.3.5 Overall outcomes of this section

I seek to make sense of why, and how, "the stories he told '*live*' on re-imaging the present-day places of Hauraki" and Tauranga Moana iwi: redefining the political

landscape, the cultural configurations of Ngāti Koi whose tūpuna narratives were silenced, obliterated out of memory for some 186 years (Whanga, 2018).

Titled from 'highland to Hauraki' I trace the migration of the Mackay family from England. My intent is to show how culture and socialisation processes transfer shaping the behaviour of an individual and its impact on Hauraki iwi and Ngāti Koi.

6.3.6 From highland to Hauraki: a picture paints a story?

Paintings are a form of narrative they represent stories telling the whole or a part of a story. At times they are painted to; embellish a story, to instil a perspective, or simply to mislead the gazing public. "A number of the 'families who emigrated from England around the early 1800s resorted to these methods as a way of giving the family prestige and distinction in the new country" (Wilson, 2015). This is the storied background behind the painting of 'The Emigrants' by William Allsworth who was commissioned by the family completed prior to their departure from England in 1844…The painting is the property of Te Papa Museum Wellington. According to Wilson a commentator of 19th-century art:

> "The painting shows a wealthy family by the name of Mackay gathered on the shores of their Scottish Highland home-Drumdruin in Sutherlandshire. They are surrounded by luggage and are ready to immigrate across the world to New Zealand. The ship they have chartered to –take them - the Slains Castle - sits on the water in the background. James Mackay Senior, *the brother of the local laird, is the leader of this family group*. He stands at the back. His wife, Anne is seated near him. Also, in the painting are their six–children - James Junior, Robert, Anne, Janet, Isabella, and Erica, and two of their– nephews - Alexander Tertius Mackay and James Tertius Mackay. The family pictured commissioned the English artist William Allsworth to make this painting in 1844 to commemorate their Igration... or so the usual story goes. In fact, it seems that this painting is not a faithful record of their departure, but rather the family's attempt to build a mythical history for themselves.
>
> There is no doubt that the family in the picture did arrive in Nelson, New Zealand, on the Slains Castle in 1844 calling themselves the MacKay's. They were certainly very wealthy and brought with them vast amounts of luggage.

> However, ... some of the tartans worn by the family may be linked to the Mackay tartan, but most are completely unrecognisable. Of course, this may be artistic license - but there is more. Documents have recently come to light that suggests that James Mackay Snr. was probably not the brother of a laird or even a Mackay from the Scottish Highlands at all. Evidence suggests his real surname was Mackie, and he came from an Aberdeen merchant family. He spent most of his life in London" (Wilson, Te Papa Museum, 1998).

In his book, 'The Scots Peerage' Balfour (1904) provides the lines of the Mackay peerage.

While there are similarities in the surname between Lord Mackay and James Mackay (Snr) that is where the similarity ends.

> "Eric succeeded his father as ninth Lord Reay. He retired and died, unmarried 2 June 1875. Baron Aeneas Mackay of Ophemert in the Netherlands succeeded his cousin as tenth Lord Reay. Donald James 11th Lord Reay, born in Ophermert, Netherlands 22 December 1839, naturalised by Act of Parliament 17 May 1877 (p.178). On his death, the barony of 1881 became extinct while he was succeeded in the Scottish title by his cousin. Eric baron Mackay, his parents were Aenus Mackay (of Ophemert) and Elisabeth Wilhelmina *Eric became the twelfth Lord of Reay* (1870-1921) holding the title for three months. He was succeeded by his son Sir Aeneas Alexander baron Mackay (1905-1963), 13th Lord Reay" (1955-1959) (Mackay, 2006), (Evison, 1990).

Clearly, the statement by James Mackay (Snr) claiming to be 'the brother to the Lord of Clan Mackay' is incorrect at its best it is a fabrication. Mackay and his clan emigrated from England and established themselves in Nelson they were coming to unknown, territory. As suggested by Wilson (1998), "a one-off painting of oneself 'as respectable' is excusable," however "the continued practise of concocting associations by drawing vivid narratives to buttress the most flimsy of storyline is purposive deception, it is lying" (Kornet, 1997).

Like colonisation, deception and mistruths do not disappear they are etched into the stories handed down through the socialisation processes of parents, peers, associations: this was the training ground for Mackay Jnr. In similar fashion, he was fastidious in shaping a picture of respectability with Māori, a story that had to be maintained at all costs. At a meeting with Ngāti Maru Mackay sets out the social composition of Māori tribal structures by drawing a comparison, a somewhat fallacious analogy, with the Highland clans of Scotland:

> "There is probably no better illustration of Māori tenure than that of the Highland clans before the rebellion of 1745, with this exception that there were no vassals or slaves among the Highlanders: they were all free men. Then there is anot"er "imilarity. *"Mac"* "n Scotch means "son "r offspring of;" in the"Māori"the word "Ngāti" has the same signification, *Mackay as the offspring o–Kay*; Macdonald--of Donald–Ngātitamatera -- offspring of Tam–era; Ngātitoa -- of Toa... *Now, for chiefs we have Eric Mackay, Lord Reay, head of the clan Kay,* and the subtribes or septs of Scowrie, Bighouse son the Highland side, Taraia Ngakuti of the Ngātitamatera, and the septs (hapūs) of the Ngātipare of Cape Colville, and the Ngātitawhake of Ohinemuri.. representing the Māori clan of Tamatera, Pare and Tawhake being children of Tamatera" (Mackay, 1887, p.4).

Clan MacKay was never referred to as 'Kay' in recordable history. According to Black (1946) "the name 'Kay' originated from several sources in Northern England and Scotland

> it comes from the Old Norse "ka' which meand jackdaw" one of the oldest records in Scotland who were an 'old family' of West Lothian (Black, 1946). "The origins of the clan was disputed for a period between two family genealogists, this was 'settled' with the disputees concuring that as a term 'Clan Mackay' had been in use from the 12th Century" (ibid. p.667). According to Brown "the correct spelling of Mackay [as in James Mackay Jnr] *my words*.. has no capital K and is pronounced Macki (Brown, 1977, p.32).

As Monin points out “the life of James Mackay “resists simple evaluation, the establishment of public institutions and the process of moving the land base and resources from Māori into the hands of the European settlers required considerable resources” (Monin, 2001, p. 247). “Following a recommendation by his father to his friend Donald McLean the Commissioner of Native Lands, Mackay Jnr was appointed the first Goldfield Warden and Magistrate for the newly established Collingwood Goldfield. The task set Mackay was to extinguish the Māori title, that is to settle with minor owners and to set aside reserves for their use. His first assignment was to complete the Kaikoura purchase and then to continue on to the West Coast and deal with the Arahura block. Donald McLean hoped that two hundred pounds ($400) would be sufficient to pay for both titles” (Brown, 1977, p.32). This was a major break for the young Mackay and lead to many key Crown roles placing him in the rohe of Hauraki and Ngāti Koi.

The following table sets out the key private and public commissions undertaken by James Mackay Jnr.

Table 6.2: Roles of Mackay

Date of appointment	What was the role	Key responsibility
1856	Mediator	“Mediate between Māori Miners and Pākehā Gold diggers on the West Coast” (Brown, 1977, p.7).
	Purchase Agent	Kaikoura Block (ibid. p.7.).
1858	Assistant Native Secretary	(Evison, 2012)
1859	Resident Magistrate	(ibid. p. 1.).
	Government Agent	McLean Purchase of Ngāti Tahu 2,500,000 7,700,000a (ibid. p. 1.)
1863	Assistant to Governor Grey	(ibid. p. 1.) (MacKay, 1896, p.24)

1865	Judge of Compensation Court	Investigate claims of Māori who believed their lands wrongly confiscated (ibid. p. 1.)
1865. 11 February	Judge of the Native Land Court	
1865	Civil Commissioner	Auckland province
1865	Commissioner for Thames	
1867	Warden for Thames Goldfield	
	Compensation Commissioner for confiscated lands	
	Civil (Special) Commissioners Appointed as special commissioners to determine and set aside reserves within the Katikati-Te Puna purchase	Allocated reserves and compensation in the confiscated lands and the Katikati-Te Puna purchase (O'Malley, in Nightingale, 1996)
July 1880.	Private commission Ohinemuri Block, the north section of the Katikati Te Puna purchase.	(Hauraki Report, V1 p.422 2006). Mackay represents Te Hira and others in the court"
1868	Private commission Resigned all government positions, private partnership with Wirope Taipari. Sank Mine Shaft on Waihi	NLC grants Waihi Block to Te Moananui and Others
1893	Private commission Waihi Block:	Mackay represents Te Moananui, Tareranui and others.
1870	Private commission	Vs Ngāti Koi Hauraki Minute Book No 5, p5 -

	Owharoa Block Counsel representing Te Moananui	160 (Bassett & Kay, 2001, pp.71, 80).
1869	Elected to Auckland Provincial Council representing Thames	
March 1872	Land Purchase Agent Mackay was appointed by the Minister for Public Works, on the commission of fourpence per acre to purchase the Waikawau, Moehau and Ohinemuri Blocks	(Waitangi Tribunal, 2006, p.422).
January 1870 – 1873	Auckland Provincial Assembly.	
1875	George Grey accused Mackay of conducting private business while being in Government employment	
1879	Appointed, no title, to investigate Taranaki situation (Parihaka)	
1879	Resident Magistrate Greymouth, Hokitika Nelson goldfields	Resigned after declaring bankruptcy
1880 – 1895	Mining Advocate and Interpreter. Private land purchasing on commission. Advocating for people in the Native Land Court. TRANSLATOR Native Land Court.	Cowan., (1911). Story of a pioneer. Auckland Star, 3 June 1911 *XL11*(131)
1896	Cadman accused Mackay of misleading the government in 1872	

6.3.7 The culture of relations: Friends, Natives, Countryman

Mackay was a maker of ‘friends’ he maintained “friendships with the Hauraki natives, which [was] never broken” (Mackay, 1896, p.23). He interacted with ‘noted’ rangatira from Ngāti Tamatera and Ngāti Maru on a social level. “As Chairman of the local AandP Society Mackay alongside Haora Tareranui and H, Te Moananui organised the 1877 race meeting held on the Paeroa racecourse. The ‘sure to win’ favourites were Tareranui’s Merepana, Katete, Lyman and Taipari’s entries: Skylark and Tauranga” (Climie, 1964), (Ohinemuri History Journal, 2011).

In his Study on ‘Māori and Goldfields Revenue’ titled ‘The Te Aroha Mining District Working Papers, No. 18,’ Hart meticulously unveils the nature and details of Mackay’s partnership with Taipari of Ngāti Maru. Nothing escaped this association, in July 1869 he wrote: “Taipari had a private office built for him at Shortland…called the Civil Commissioners Office, for convenience. As host Taipari erected a marquee behind Mackay’s house to host a band accompanied English Xmas dinner party feeding 400. Jointly they invested in mining amassing allotments and buildings valued at £12,813.15s” (Hart, 2016, p.89).

This section is confined to certain aspects of the Crown’s goldfield negotiations, these proceedings demonstrate the influence of the relationship between certain rangatira and Mackay. “Appointed a private purchase agent Mackay set up a firm, the New Zealand Native Land Agency ‘1869’ employing a number of clerks, interpreters and sub-agents” (Waitangi Tribunal, 2006, p.795). “Mackay was also a shareholder in a number of mining and other companies including Tokatea Gold Mining Company with W. H. Taipari among others (Ibid. p.795). A key outcome of this company was to establish the Taipari Mineshaft on Waihi, known as Orokawa. Noted as the Waihi Eldorado, according to Bell & Fraser “the shaft is on the lower slopes and for the most part where steep cliffs abut against the ocean, that the greater part of the mining exploration has been done” (Bell, & Fraser, 1912, p.7). For Ngāti Koi these ‘abutments’ form the resting place of Rapatiotio the taniwha of the iwi. In 1870 the Native Land Court awarded this block to Ngāti Tamatera, after successive requests for a rehearing, 15 acres including and

surrounding Tawhitiaraia Pa was returned to Ngāti Koi. In 2013 the whole, 236 hectares, was returned to Ngāti Tara Tokanui under Treaty Settlement.

If friendship is measured by shared common values and consistent support over an extended period-of-time the relationship between Mackay and Tanumeha Te Moananui eclipsed all other associations he had formed. The impact of the Mackay friendships persists over the decades as litigation, rehearing's and petitions, the destroying and altering of iwi relationships resulting in entrenched pauperism for some and plenitudinous wealth for others. (Bassett & Kay, 2001, p. 53).

"A local Hauraki tribe, the Ngāti Paoa, made him a chief in the form of Power of Attorney" (Bromley, 2010). "In 1868 he resigned his government positions dealing privately with Wirope Taipari" (James Mackay, in Wikipedia, 2018), "he acted as Arbitrator for Te Moananui and his tribe the Ngāti Tamatera in the confiscation of Tauranga Moana" (Stokes, 1993, p.12) the Owharoa and Waihi Blocks in opposition to Ngāti Koi.

6.3.8 Naming the places, spaces, the people Hauraki Tauranga Moana

This is not a drive to decolonise, but rather an attempt to eliminate the challenges *posed to settler sovereignty by indigenous peoples' claims to land by eliminating indigenous peoples themselves and asserting false stories, narratives and structures of settler belonging (Barker & Lowman, 2015)*

Spanning both private and Crown interests Mackay appeared in new and different roles. "In 1863 Governor Grey appointed Mackay as Civil Commissioner" (MacKay, 1896, p.24), throughout this period "he negotiated timber leases and land purchases on behalf of various private individuals and associations, and by 1871 was seeking to purchase the whole of the Coromandel Peninsula on behalf of the Crown subject to the mining rights acquired by the Crown and rights acquired by private timber companies" (Waitangi Tribunal, 2006, p.422).

Straddling these public spheres betwixt iwi and the Crown, the stories he told subverted into powerful symbolic cultural processes whereby the social and ethnic

reality of iwi were transformed reproduced as conveyers of colonisation. In this regard, he held not only the clout to map and purchase the land but, also that of naming. When Aperahama te Reiroa agreed to cede Waiotahi for gold mining purposes he noted: "I made him an advance…on account of the long duration of this quarrel, I nick-named the block the Whakatete (signifying disputation or contention), and the name stuck to it" (Mackay, 1896, p.20). "Throughout the 'Kaikoura Purchase' the name 'Te Turu o Make' remains to this day, we surmise that name was born when he sat on the rock which he has marked on a map of the South Bay Reserve as 'Te Turu'o Make' (Mackay's Stool)" (Brown, 1977, p.32). In their report, the (Waitangi Tribunal, 2006, p.141) dubbed him the "powerful civil commissioner." A portion of the Ngāti Koi block "Tekahakaha" (Te Taurangi Raharuhi, 1869) was renamed Mackaytown in honour of James Mackay Jnr by the local County Council.

6.3.9 Chief Victor Slave: Setting the scene

In his storied world, there were "chiefs, victor's, serf's and slaves (taurekareka), absolute property rights, conquest, intermarriage, fugitives and vassals" (Mackay, 1887, p.4). These imported, class-based, social terms of reference represented the worldview of James Mackay Jnr when he settled Hauraki carving out the political nomenclature of iwi. For Mackay "land taken by conquest were akin to miners pegging out claims in a new gold rush signified by 'feathers on pole,' 'long stone on ground,' 'that hill is my head,' the ultimate definer being 'first in first serve.' If a conquest was partial, each party held that which they occupied until one was strong enough to conquer or drive the other off" (Mackay, 1887, p.5).

Māori were grouped. "Mackay's language and thinking was marked by a tendency to treat certain groups in a particular way 'Land League Kingitanga' (Mackay, 1869, p.33) and Hauhau as one kind. At another level "there were the friendly, or loyal, Māori branded by their willingness to transact rights in the land" (Waitangi Tribunal vol 1, p. 358). Rising above this social milieu were another class: that of rangatira. "These Mackay deemed the 'owners' of the auriferous lands of Hauraki" (AJHR, 1869, p.33) who he funded from 'deep pockets' lined by the Crown. Mackay cultivated these relationships at the bidding of an unrelenting master hungry for the land and all the resources held within. "In the case of the

original owners being driven off the land, and the victors occupying it “they became the vassals (rahi) of the dominant tribe. They were not body servants, like the slaves (taurekareka), but had to perform feudal service, join in war, paddle the chief's canoe and supply food for tribal meetings. As far as can be ascertained the lands of a sub-tribe or sept (hapū) were held in common, and there were no cases of individual rights or ownership in land, unless by the death of all but one of the members of a sub-tribe” (Mackay, 1887, p.6). This class-stratified society ranged from a King to Lord to Freemen, to serf. “Society was divided by small aristocracies established around warfare, a final group consisted of a wider group of freemen who had the right to bear arms: were above a large body of slaves” (Contributors, W. 2018).

Over the long period of his dealings with Hauraki, the blocks acquired by James Mackay faithfully followed the gold-laden boundaries identified in Alexanders overarching geological report, “the first document, throwing open land for gold mining at Hauraki was drafted 27 July 1867” (in Stout, Mackay, J, vol. 74 p.22). The taking of Hauraki land, by James Mackay Jnr, was not based on guesswork or speculation it was based on previous knowledge of the area and the specialist skills of Alexander, a trained government geologist. Alexander emigrated to New Zealand with his cousin James and his family. In 1892 by Command of His Excellency he reported the findings of an overarching geological study of Hauraki. Funded by the government “to ascertain the exact nature, …of gold-bearing lodes…of the region” (AJHR,1897, C-09, p.1).

The scope of the work included Great Barrier Island, the area lying between Cape Colville, the northern extremity of the Peninsula, and the county road between Te Aroha sand Katikati on the shore of the Tauranga Harbour. In June 1897 Alexander Mackay reported his findings on the geological composition of specific sites within Hauraki. MacKay’s report identified that specific areas of Hauraki comprise andesitic, dacitic ignimbrite gold-bearing reefs, his report identified the Ngāti Koi places of Ohinemuri, Te Waioronogomai, Karangahake, Owharoa, Pukewa Maunga now known as Martha Mine, Waihi Beach - Orokawa. Mackay’s assessments are indorsed by modern geological findings (Froggatt, & Russell, 2007), (Heron, 2014), (Bell & Fraser, 1912, p.192) (Mackay 1897).

James Mackay Jnr was experienced in goldfield operations a skill he noted to a hui with Ngāti Maru "I was the only one of the party who knew anything about the laws relating to goldfields because I had been appointed to be a Warden in 1858 and acted as such in the South Island until 1863" (Mackay, 1896, p.26). In his report to the House of Representatives dated July 1869 he specified the tribal constitution of Hauraki. According to Mackay, "the principal native landowners in the Thames District are the tribes; Ngātipaoa, Ngāti Whānaunga, Ngātimaru and Ngātitamatera…extend[ing] over the country on the east and west shores of the Hauraki Gulf… and as far south as Katikati on the East Coast, and to Te Aroha Mountain and Waitoa in the valley of the Thames" (Mackay, 1869, p.31). These were his tribes and with their rangatira only, did he confide. Absent from his report were the 'pre-Mackay' tribes: Ngāti Koi Ngāti Tara Tokanui Ngamarama, Rahiri-Tumutumu, Huarere, Tamatepo, Hako, the numerous hapū of Hauraki iwi who had demonstrated mana and authority over discrete areas of iwi rohe.

Owharoa

In this section, I seek to elucidate the actions, and strategies of James Mackay Jnr in relationship to the Native Land Court Hearings of the key Ngāti Koi land blocks: Owharoa, Ohinemuri and Waihi. These were to be treated as one Goldfields block by the Crown, however, given its significance to Ngāti Koi Keepa had the Owharoa and Waihi blocks surveyed to be partitioned out of the Ohinemuri goldfield. At all costs, nothing could get in the way of project colonisation and the acquiring of auriferous land. Any scant reading of the Waitangi Tribunal Hauraki report is to be presented with the breath-taking range of the strategies applied by Mackay. Strategies are a predetermined plan, they require people and resourcing they require an appropriate environment to be deployed. In the case of Ngāti Koi, this environment was the Native Land Court of Ohinemuri and the strategies of the ex-Crown agent: James Mackay Jnr.

In a society undergoing the embedding of colonisation meanings are embedded in violent and subtle ways conceptualised through the ideologies and symbols of the coloniser, in the silencing of pre-established epistemological frameworks and tūpuna narratives the meaning maps of the coloniser take precedence.

To assist my analysis of Mackay I have drawn on the Historical Account for Ngāti Koi prepared by the Historians Heather Bassett & Richard Kay specifically the outcomes of the Native Land Court Hearings for the key blocks Owharoa, Ohinemuri, Waihi and Dame Evelyn Stokes' work relating to the Katikati Te Puna purchase concludes this section and chapter. These historical accounts are more than the collation of historical events they discuss the background, the behaviours and activities of key individuals that comprise the Native Land Court Hearing. They have informed the decisions I have made regarding the motives of the Crown and James Mackay Jnr. There are important lessons to be learnt from historical accounts of such scholarship. First: that whakapapa cannot be adapted or changed. Secondly: determinations of superiority based on labelling have long been rejected, however, through specific modern applications such as the Waitangi Tribunal Hearings they remain useful to meaning-making, that they are mistaken and misguided is of little importance. Whakapapa 'illuminates' truth it contextualises the rituals of whānaungatanga based on equality and reciprocity. Lastly: through tūpuna narrative practices colonisation can be overcome.

6.3.10 Mackay: The face of the Native Land Court

Spanning both private and Crown interests "Mackay appeared in new and different roles. With the completion of the Tauranga Moana confiscation in 1869, Mackay resigned his post as Civil Commissioner" (Waitangi Tribunal, 2006 p.422). "Mackay, who had formerly negotiated with Ngāti Koi as a land purchase agent was now a legal counsel acting for Te Hira and his Ngāti Tamatera supporters (Bassett & Kay, 2001, p.73) in the hearing for the Owharoa block in the southern Ohinemuri District.

The Ohinemuri River runs through the heart of the iwi rohe its tribal lands defined by the 'touch' of its reach (Hone Tiwaewae, 2001). The Ohinemuri flows through the centre of the Owharoa which comprises Karangahake Maunga, the Owharoa waterfall, fortified Pa and urupa; Mangakiri, Motukehu, Perewhakaputiaia – the final resting place of Te Taurangi, Kotangitangi – the final resting place of Keepa, Mangawhio, Te Mangiao.

The topography of the Owharoa consists of verdant valleys and craggy hills their sheer rock walls dropping hundreds of feet into the Ohinemuri River, on this hostile geography some 600 years earlier Tara built the impregnable Pa: Mimitu and Pukepoto.

The May 1870 hearing for the Owharoa case was bitterly disputed in a protracted enquiry which lasted a fortnight. In the absence of being able to make a claim based on ancestral or occupation grounds, Mackay argued that in consequence of the assistance given by Te Poporo, the Tamatera husband of Nihohoroia the great-granddaughter of Tara to avenge a battle the Ngāti Koi owed a debt and this debt equated to serfdom. Te Keepa argued the assistance by Te Poporo was a 'by-product' of his marriage, rather than the marriage being conditional on his assistance (in Bassett & Kay, 2001, p.20). Mackay's primary strategy was to prove the absolute serfdom of Ngāti Koi as the eel catchers of his clients. Serfs have no rights, they have no land, they work on the land at the bidding of an overlord master.

As legal counsel 'everything' about Mackay fit the bill. He had more than enough experience from his previous roles as Civil Commissioner and Magistrate further, he knew his clients at a personal, social and professional level. He managed the events of the Court so that case of his clients, the counter claimants, would be heard first. He worked for them to achieve the best outcome which was to triumph over Ngāti Koi for at stake was the Owharoa deemed one of the highest producing goldfields in Hauraki.

According to Bassett & Kay (2001) "Puckey who had replaced Mackay as Civil Commissioner noted that Mackay was vehement in his attempts to defeat the Ngāti Koi claims: witnesses were subjected to a rigid … cross-examination by Mr Mackay Te Keepa was questioned by Mackay for five hours in what an observer described as a very long and bitter cross-examination' in a 'very hostile tone.' While Te Keepa and the younger members of Ngāti Koi were in Court Te Moananui took a number of armed young men and attacked Te Raharuhi senior who was crippled with rheumatoid arthritis and his wife Te Rangihikihiki. (Bassett & Kay, 2001, p.75). The Waitangi Tribunal describes this as an act of 'muru' which according to the Māori Dictionary (O.M.D, 2018) is to confiscate take ritual compensation, a form of social

control. For Ngāti Koi, taking armed men to attack unarmed crippled elders, is nothing more than an orchestrated act of cowardice.

The Mackay strategies included:

False accusations slurs and labelling of iwi,

Dishonouring whakapapa,

Bullying tactics within the cross-examination,

Manipulating Court proceedings to ensure his clients had time to attack crippled elders,

Manipulation of the legal process of the Court: counter claimants

Changing historical events to achieve an outcome,

Intermeshing professional boundaries and disclosing confidential information gained as a Crown agent.

6.3.11 The mono-dimensional nature of narrative

Stories help us understand our world: narratives help us to change them.

The bleak encounters of Ngāti Koi within the Native Land Court illustrate the role of story and how it continually shapes 'our' place within the world. Stories are important they have different qualities, they are designed for a purpose, for a specific population demographic. They form and determine emotions they purport to tell fact and as such become important decision-making tools forming the constitutive elements of 'narrative.'

For Cronon (1992), "stories enable, they take us beyond the incomprehensible: when it comes to embedding cultural values, principles, mindset and rules, stories are foundational" (p.1350). But when told in their own individual right without context stories become destructive. 'In itself' as a subject, they become the mechanism of their own self-destruction and why? Because when a story is told it does not have a beginning and end, it's beginning 'once upon a time' places it within the context of something outside of it. However, told long enough over time the telling creates a meaning that shapes the patterns, the design, the very structure of the society it is attempting to create or destroy.

6.3.12 Stigmata: the ongoing nature of the story of colonisation

As a result of the actions and procedures of the Native Land Court, Ngāti Koi were falsely labelled. These labels live on today within the minutes of the Court records. In her report, prepared for Wai 714, explaining how labels create and embed social stigma intergenerationally. Professor Franklin noted that: "even though allegations were rejected by the Native Land Court, the stigma has remained attached to Ngāti Koi. The sheer weight of the Ngāti Tamatera evidence, coming first as it does in the minute book, means that Ngāti Koi's convincing rebuttal is often overlooked." These same assumptions raised in the Native Land Court held by members of Ngāti Tamatera of Ngāti Koi was utilised before the Waitangi Tribunal one hundred and eighty-six years later, even though this legal ploy was discredited in the 1870 Owharoa ruling. "One document alone 'The Marutuahu Historical Overview' – perpetuates falsity fabrication, deception, invention and fiction in the thirteen claims to which it is connected (Wai 345, 346, 348, 373, 454, 495, 695, 754, 778, 809, 811, 812, 867). Because of these claims their origins within the Native Land Court, and in any given Waitangi Tribunal claim dealing with Hauraki lands, iwi have come to rely in part on the Ngāti Tamatera evidence in order to explain the process by which their lands came to their current state" (Franklin, 2001, p.3).

> "Social psychologists refer to the type of stigma that Ngāti Koi endures as 'tribal stigmas, which are familial or passed from generation to generation' (Crocker et al., p.506). In this manner according to Franklin (2001) "tribal or group-based stigmas have consensually held the culturally transmitted stereotypes associated with them (p.4). In the discussion of the persistence of the 'rahi' label and its attendant assumptions, it will be shown that this stigma has indeed been culturally transmitted' from the nineteenth to the present day. The stigmatised live in a constant state of insecurity in not knowing when or from where the blow will come. This situational aspect of the attempts to stigmatise Ngāti Koi arises not only in our interactions with other iwi but personally to individuals. It is not the contention that the Crown is responsible for each individual act of prejudice that might occur to every individual member of the iwi because of this dishonourable association. It is, however, 'their' belief that each act is part of the ongoing

‘tribal stigma’ that was created as a result of the adversarial procedures of the Native Land Court the Crown and its chief agent James Mackay Jnr (Franklin, 2001, p.3).

6.3.13 Whānaungatanga: the narrative of relationships

According to Nikora, Māori, just like all people need to maintain a sense of collective consciousness, this creates identity, belonging and security (Nikora, 2007, p.137). Whānaungatanga encapsulates these concepts it is a key tikanga practice that demonstrates reciprocity, goodwill, mutuality and interrelatedness. The importance of the Native Land Court evidence are the narratives of tūpuna that set out the tikanga practices of iwi before colonisation. Te Keepa stated that Ngāti Tamatera and Ngāti Koi had a mutual trading relationship which was supported by Ropata Te Arakai, of Ngāti Tamatera:

> “I speak as a Ngātitamatera. I gave them the eels, N'Koi gave eels to Ngātitamatera in the same way, N'tamatera fetched them. Eels were considered a great thing by Māori, in giving eels a great return was affected. The Ngātitamatera used to pay the Ngāti Koi for eels, all paid. They gave pioke, stingarae [sic], mussels, preserved mussels, dried snapper, dried pipis & oil if they had any. If we called them rahi in anger they would return it in anger, if in jest they would return it in jest. It was not that either were rahi [it was] only a name called. The same custom in regard to the exchange of eels for fish holds good at Piako and other places in New Zealand’ (Hauraki Minute Book No 5, 1870, p,84-85), (Bassett & Kay, 2001, p. 84).

> “that 'when one was called a rahi he would retort by calling the other a rahi. He said that when Governor Hobson arrived `Ngāti Koi held possession of the lands of this District and Owharoa', following the battle at Ongare (1842) the 'lands at Ohinemuri & Owharoa' were held b’ `Whakatohea, N'Koi and Te Uriwha'. Te Arakai reiterated that while he lived with Ngāti Koi they were the only people who went to those lands and therefore, they have the mana over the land"’ (Hauraki Minute Book No 5, 1870, p,92), (Bassett & Kay, 2001, p. 84).

Three points can be made’ from Te Arakai's evidence:

> Whānaungatanga determined the relationship between iwi,
> Ngāti Koi and Ngāti Tamatera were related,
> The term rahi (serf) was used as a common form of derision among iwi, and
> Ngāti Koi held and occupied Owharoa prior to 1840.

Aperahama Pokai, a chief of Ngāti Paoa, corroborated Te Arakai's evidence

> “that trade was a common practice among Māori, by saying that he had eels from the area and that Ngāti Paoa had paid for the eels with sharks. Under cross-examination from Mackay, Pokai gave the impression that insulting each other was a common practice among these tribes. Mackay then asked Pokai; 'Which is te iwi rangatira?', to which ‘Pokai’ replied: 'I don't know each tribe thinks itself te iwi rangatira'” (Hauraki Minute Book No 5, 1870, p,92), (Bassett & Kay, 2001, p. 104).

The evidence of Pokai raises a number of interesting ideas.

> Ngāti Tara traded with other iwi who were willing to pay for their eels.
> This highlights independence, authority and a free people.
> Kotia Te Koronehu of Ngāti Tara said that she had been born, and had grown-up, at Owharoa, at Mimitu Pa. She said that Ngāti Koi were equal with Ngāti Tamatera and that although they did catch eels for Ngāti Tamatera it was not because they were ordered to, but 'out of love for their relatives'. When asked by Davis whether Ngāti Tamatera ever caught eels for Ngāti Koi, she said: ''hat would the N’Koi want with N'tamatera eels when they had plenty of their own' (Hauraki Minute Book No 5, 1870, p,45), (Bassett & Kay, 2001, p. 89).

Davis pursued this question until she replied, 'what eels are there in the sea’ they gave fish'. He asked whether Ngāti Tamatera were Ngāti Koi's protectors. Kotia Te Koronehu replied that Ngāti Koi and Ngāti Tamatera were 'one kin and it is only your doings that have separated them' (Bassett & Kay, 2001, p.89).

"The evidence of Te Koronehu refuted the claims of Ngāti Tamatera, she stressed that Ngāti Tamatera and Ngāti Koi had familial bonds and the disagreement between them had been recent and was related to the activities of Pākehā. Te Hira the chief claimant was the descendent of Te Poporo. The witnesses for Ngāti Koi and Ngāti Tokanui stressed their manawhenua rights through an:

> ancestral connection with the land;
> ongoing occupation of the land;
> exercising of authority over the land through (a) gifts of land; (b) temporary placement of individuals and hapū on land; (c) expulsion of hapū from the land; and (d) surveying the land" (Bassett & Kay, 2001, p.90).

In summing the case: the judge said that Mackay had made a 'great effort' to establish Ngāti Koi's 'absolute serfdom' to Ngāti Tamatera, mainly by using 'modern facts'. To some extent, the judge said Mackay 'seems' to have argued his case on the assertion that Ngāti Koi were in a 'subordinate' position. However, it was difficult to believe that Ngāti Koi were as subordinate as Mackay suggested, particularly since they had not been conquered by Ngāti Tamatera and it had been acknowledged that the ancestors of both iwi were equal. Owharoa was awarded to Ngāti Koi, however further land cases were not as favourable and heightened the tensions between each iwi.

"From the Court hearings, facts emerged about Ngāti Tara/Ngāti Koi's relationship with the land

> Tara conquered and held mana over the region; the Ngāti Koi case satisfied the grounds established by the Court these included take' raupatu (right by conquest), take' tūpuna (ancestral right), take' taunaha (to claim land by naming) take' tuku (gifting) to the Hangarau hapū of Ngai Te Rangi (Bassett & Kay, 2006 p.101).
>
> Ngāti Koi/Ngāti Tara maintained iwi manawhenua, they had never lost their lands and had been in continuous occupation since the conquest and

> settlement of Tara; Ngāti Tara and Ngāti Tamatera never fought in battle." (ibid. p.101).

Land represents whakapapa, specific pieces-blocks named for the tūpuna kaitiaki who occupied, 'lived' and remained on the land. The Waihi Block is situated next to the Ohinemuri Block they are the whakapapa of Ngāti Koi tūpuna. In October of 1870, Ngāti Koi were once again defending manawhenua, before the Court was the ownership of the Waihi Block situated next to the Ohinemuri Block. Mackay, who had formerly negotiated with Ngāti Koi as a land purchase agent, was now acting for Te Moananui and Ngāti Tamatera. At the heart of the issue was gold. Te Keepa was in no doubt that opening up a goldfield within Ohinemuri would be beneficial to Ngāti Koi. Inter-iwi conflict and tensions were heightened as the Crown's actions created divisions between land sellers and non-sellers. At the 1878 meeting in Whakatiwai, all the chiefs were gathered. Te Keepa Raharuhi stated "My proposal is, that you take the right to mine for gold, and leave me the land" (Ohinemuri Advertiser, 1890) Te Keepa was not a seller of land, he wanted to be involved in the 'economy' he gave rights to mine the land but under no circumstances did he want to sell he beseeched Mackay a number of times for the return of the land. The resulting struggle for authority over the land meant that cases in the Native Land Court were bitterly disputed.

On this land were many ancient Ngāti Koi taonga; wāhi tapu (precious resources) pa (fortified bastions) wharenui (hapū meeting houses) pataka (storage houses) whare, urupā and stores reserved for battle equipment such as obsidian flints, stockpiles of ground rock, it is the home of the iwi taniwha Rapatiotio (Rose Te Okeroa, 2001). The 'Taipari Gold Claim' above Rapatiotio Point, stretched either side of the Waihi stream. Te Keepa identified "Whakamakaurangi as an urupā site at the source of the Waihi Stream. A number of Ngāti Tara people were buried there including Te Whakamaro the son of Maioro the latter the grandson of the tūpuna Tara" (Hauraki MB 5, 23 October 1870, p. 228). This block was awarded to Tamatera, following subsequent appeals to the Native Land Court, McClean, after much protest and calls for a rehearing by Te Keepa, awarded 15 acres of the block which included the ancient pa site Tawhitiaraia to Ngāti Koi.

6.3.14 Te Waka o Tiki Te Aroha

As the crow flies Ngahutoitoi Marae is 1.7km from the present Ngāti Tamatera settlement Papaturoa Ave and Te Pai O Hauraki Marae. According to the Waitangi Tribunal, “Mackay asked Te Moananui and others of the loyal party to assist in arranging the Ohinemuri question, this meant the bringing into line of the Te Hira, who opposed gold mining. Te Moananui was reported as saying to Te Hira the principal chief of Ngāti Tamatera that the land was given to you by the tribes to reside on and to look after the land and the people” (Waitangi Tribunal, 2006, p 415). Te Waka o Tiki Te Aroha is a block of land named after the eldest son of Tara born in Hauraki. Nestled between Otaumarunganui and Piraurahi “the block comprised a large wetland formed by the Waihou and Ohinemuri Rivers” (Alibone & Boothroyd, 2001, p.8). This area was drained by the early settlers, to create areas for settlement farming (Thorp, 1977). “The wharenui Te Pai (Pae) o Hauraki was originally located at Waiaro (Cabbage Bay) (Colville) on the Coromandel Peninsular” (Hone Hawkins private transmission) The Crown schoonered this wharenui from Cabbage Bay in the Coromandel in the late 1800s and renamed it Te Pai o Hauraki. The block surveyed for this settlement was originally called Te Waka o Tiki Te Aroha named after the eldest son of Tara born in Hauraki.

6.3.15 Hardship

“Mackay’s negotiating strategies and how they breached the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi can be found at p 398 of the Waitangi Tribunal’s Hauraki Report Volume 1, 2006. (Waitangi Tribunal, 2006 p. xxxii). By any standards, Mackay’s strategies were simply reprehensible and constitute a severe breach of the Crown’s duties to act with utmost good faith and protect the interests of iwi. “James Mackay as civil commissioner and land purchase agent played an important role in opening up Hauraki lands for gold mining and approached this task by selectively making payments to individual chiefs who were ‘friendly’ towards the Crown. Mackay described his approach to gaining mining access as ‘putting in wedges’ and ‘letting them draw.’ Anderson argues that these practices fell short of the ‘standards implicit to the concept of consent’ (Bassett & Kay 2001, p.65).

Therefore, not surprisingly, “Mackay’s approach was the cause of considerable animosity between Māori and towards the Crown.” Following the Native Land Court Hearings Ngāti Koi faced hardship, outstanding debts for surveys meant that specific blocks were sold to cover their debts. They owed £44 for the survey of the Pukemokemoke, £23 for the court fees for Te Koronae, Keepa and Rihitoto sold flax to pay the survey costs of Te Koronae. In 1879 Tetley called in the debt owed on Te Waka o Tikitearoha 1878. This block was named after one of the sons of Tara, Tikitearoha, who had settled there next to his father at Piraurahi. The opposition claims to Te Waka o Tikitearoha focused on contemporary events rather than ancestral rights. Hoera Te Mimiha of Ngāti Koi was the claimant. His claim was from ancestry and continued occupation from Tara. He said he had cultivated the land, and that his house was just outside the block. He also explained that because of a summons he had received for a £50 debt to F. Tetley ’that the 'tribe' had arranged that the block should be given to him to pay his debts (in Bassett & Kay, 2001, p.107) Keepa owed Puckey £100 for Otaumarunganui and to pay a koha to the tangi of Tanumeha Te Moananui.

“Since 1875 the Crown had been purchasing the rights of individuals to land within the Ohinemuri block since at least 1875. These purchases were being made before the ownership of the land had been decided by the Native Land Court. The enormous block (estimated at 150,000 acres) was finally brought before the court in 17 July 1880 two thirds of the land was awarded to Ngāti Tamatera and one-third of the land was awarded jointly to Ngāti Tara and Ngāti Tokanui. The purchase of the Ohinemuri Block in 1882 added a further 66,000 acres to the Crowns coffers” (Waitangi Tribunal, 2006, Vol 2, p. 583). G. Wilkinson, the land purchase officer, reported that:

> “large payments that were made by Mr James Mackay to certain members of the Ngātikoi tribe . . . such payments in most cases not being made in cash but (as stated by the claimant) these were debts that had been incurred by these people with storekeepers and at public houses, and which were afterwards liquidated by Mr Mackay and charged against the Gold Field. They had incurred debt some

> of which were to be claimed against Ohinemuri" (Bassett & Kay, 2001, p. 143).

The 'putting in wedges strategy' is about gaining and maintaining power by breaking up larger concentrations of power into smaller pieces so that each individual piece (rangatira) has less power than the one implementing the strategy. "This is an old established colonial strategy: applied by the Germans and refined by the Belgians in Rwanda where the 'favoured' minority Tutsi's were made chiefs and the majority Hutu were made slaves. Chretien, & Strauss (2006) refer to this as the separation between the two tribes Tutsi and Hutu which according to Mamdani (2002) the separation was important as a means of redistributing resources (p.181).

6.3.16 Naming, loss, confiscation

Colonisers need land confiscation is a tool of colonisation it re-distributes land from iwi to settlers in this task Mackay was the quintessential arbiter. The confiscation of Tauranga lands was a traumatic event, for some iwi it meant obliteration, for others it made a new home claimable 'only' at Treaty Settlement an exchange of land for cash in hand. On a whole, it overturned iwi traditional patterns of millennium held associations with a land.

"By Order-in-Council, dated 18 May 1865, the lands of Tauranga Moana were confiscated under the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863 (New Zealand Gazette 1865, p. 187). (New Zealand Parliamentary Debates 1867 vol. 1, pt. II, pp. 978-979). The Bill passed through the House of Representatives to the Legislative Council … and became law on 16 October 1868" (Stokes, 1993, p.12).

> "Between 10 August and 3 September, 1866 final payments were made to respective iwi to extinguish their claims to land at Tauranga. The Crown initially purchased the block from several Ngaiterangi chiefs, but their right to sell the area was soon disputed by Te Moananui, of Ngāti Tamatera and other Hauraki Māori. As a result, H.T. Clarke and J. Mackay Jr were appointed as arbitrators, in this case, the former on behalf of the

tribe Ngaiterangi, the latter on the part of Te Moananui and his people of the tribe Ngātitamatera" (Stokes, 1993, p.13).

"The loyal chief Te Moananui and several others listed on ... Fox ... and urged their claims. It was then arranged that Ngātitamatera and Ngaiterangi should each select six men as representatives of the tribe and that Mr H.T. Clarke ... and me should act as arbitrators in the case" (Mackay, 1867, p.1349).

6.4 Whakapapa: the redrawing of Hauraki

According to Stokes the investigation and decision of this case occupied five days. This case-based on 'maps redrawn from Mackay's as drawn by Te Moananui on the floor of the Wesleyan Chapel, Auckland, on the 12th December 1864" (Stokes, 1993, p.89) determined the ownership of Katikati TePuna. Prior to the completion of their official report clauses which referred to Ngāti Tara Tokanui occupation was deleted from the report. Written statements dated October 1869, a published whakapapa document of the Tokanui settlements in the area, and hand-drawn maps written by Te Keepa, were submitted to Mackay.

The importance of the published whakapapa document is that it was established before the inception of the Native Land Court, it was produced by Raharuhi senior and members of other Hauraki tribes, it provided the key place names and their associated whakapapa and historical narratives, many of the place names are currently utilised today.

6.4.1 Stories of Whakapapa

Keepa complained that the markers placed by the Crown identifying the Tauranga Moana boundary spliced through the middle of Ohinemuri block. This block is situated next to the Katikati Te Puna purchase, "it formerly comprised approximately 150,000 acres" (Bassett & Kay, 2001, p112). To claim in the Katikati Te Puna purchase claimants were required to provide their whakapapa to Tokanui. Mackay accepted the Te Moananui whakapapa to Tokanui through Te Raharuhi (Te Taurangi). According to Stokes (1993), Te Moananui stated: "He Papa a Raharuhi ki au, (Raharuhi is my father). Ko Tokanui te tūpuna i puta mai ai a Raharuhi (Tokanui is the Tūpuna of Raharuhi)" (Stokes, 1993, p.104).

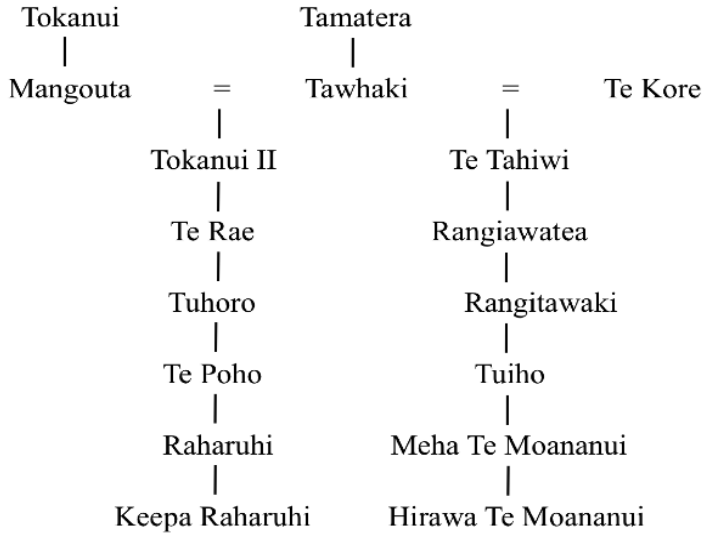
Ko Tokanui
|
Tawhaki
|
Ko te Tahuri
|
Ranghiawatea
|
Rawake
|
Tuhio
|
Te Moananui

(Stokes, 1993, p. 94)

Mackay knew the Te Moananui whakapapa claims were incorrect. In his paper titled ‘Our Dealings with Māori Lands” Mackay named “the Ngāti Tawhaki of Ohinemuri as representing the Māori clan of Tamatera, Pare and Tawhake being children of Tamatera” (Mackay, 1887, p.5). Te Moananui was granted £600.00 for his interests in the Katikati Te Puna block.

6.4.2 Whakapapa: the narrative of Ngāti Tokanui and Ngāti Tawhaki

According to Te Keepa, the tūpuna of Tokanui was Ngamarama, through a key marriage were connected to Tawhaki a hapū of Ngāti Tamatera the relationship came about through the two marriages of the woman Tawhaki:



(Bassett & Kay, 2001, p.31) The above whakapapa identifies the different whakapapa lines of the key ancestors these form the basis of claims to land. Therefore, as the descendent of Tokanui Keepa had rights to claim land from Tokanui. As a descendent of Tamatera Te Moananui had rights to claim land from Tamatera. Keepa did not have the right to claim land from Tamatera and Te Moananui did not have the rights to land from Tokanui.

Prior to the Native Land Court, when it came to proving land rights the distinction based on whakapapa between land which had been occupied by Ngāti Tara and Ngāti Tokanui was always maintained. According to the Waitangi Tribunal:

> "Māori placed more weight on whakapapa (genealogy) and ancestral associations…an ancestral history is a fact that cannot be written out of existence" (In Bassett & Kay, 2001, p.62).

The experiences of Ngāti Koi within the Katikati Te Puna purchase is an example of how whakapapa can be written 'out of existence.' The placement of the Tauranga Moana boundary had a most deleterious impact on Ngāti Koi; iwi whakapapa was falsified this resulted in tūpuna land being wrongfully vested in another iwi, whakapapa obliterated, tūpuna narratives silenced re-appropriated by another iwi. If it were not for this thesis the uncovering of the story of Ngāti Koi in the Katikati Te Puna purchase, the misappropriation of 'whakapapa ki te

whenua,' the wrongfully placed boundary line of Tauranga Moana iwi all would have been missed, 'obliterated out of existence.'

In October 1869, Te Keepa wrote to the Native Minister and Mackay asking them to honour undertakings negotiated at an earlier hui which he attended.

> *"E hoa mā tena kōrua.*
> *He kupu tāku kia kōrua, ko mātou whakaaro kua tūturu ki runga ki o tātou whakaaro. E hoa mā, tera pea mātou e mate i te Hauhau, e ngari kei a kōrua te whakaaro kia mātou. Kāore hoki i etahi o mātou i whiwhi i te tika, i enei mo te wahi, e kino ai Te Hauhau kia mātou.*
> *E hoa mā, tenei ano tētehi o a mātou kupu kia kōrua. Kō matou pīhī whenua i roto i te rohe a te Kawana, i te takiwā o Katikati i tukua e mātou kia Te Maki i mua. Whaka-ae ana ia i tenei ra ka tukua atu e mātou kia kōrua, ma kōrua e whakaputa mai kia mātou.He oi ano te kupu kia kōrua"*
>
> "Friends, greetings.
> I have a message to you both, our thoughts, we have agreed to what us and you suggested. Friends, we may die at the hands of the Hauhau, but we will leave our decisions to you. Not one of us received any rights, to this block where the Hauhau's may not like us. Friends, this is another message to you, our piece of land within the boundaries of the Government, in the Katikati district we gave to Mackay before, he agrees on this day to give over to you, for you to hand back to us" (Belgrave and Young, 2010). (Translated Joe Tipene, 2011)

According to Bassett & Kay (2001) "In April 1859 Raharuhi Senior and Te Keepa published a document titled 'whakapapa ki te whenua' published prior to the Native Land Court. These identify a number of the Ngāti Tokanui Ngāti Koi sites within the Katikati Te Puna Block (p.42). Examples are Aongatete (Awongatete): river, urupa, battle site and ancient track connecting to Te-Pae-o-Tura-Waru above Matamata, Te Ure (Uri) Tara: river, pa, battle site and ancient track connecting to Te Aroha, Taingahue (Waiangahue): River, Waiapu Mahanga: a warm stream. Waimataa: a River, Nga Kuri a Wharei: sandhill south of old

Katikati, Ongare: fortified Pa, Te Poho a Pa and settlement, Te Ho – Te Kura a Maia – fortified Pa sites. Waimataa now Athenree. These names remain today.

These misappropriated landscapes would underpin the narratives within the Native Land Court providing the formulae for the Hauraki Treaty Settlement mechanisms. These templates have created tension and unrest as rangatira rejecting the Hauraki Treaty Settlements, to the above-named tribes, in their region, call their iwi to war to illegally occupy the high bastions, the sites of cultural significance, of Hauraki iwi, to march on parliament protesting their rejection of the awarding of Tauranga Lands to Hauraki iwi.

6.4.3. 2019 Cross claims: Settling the grievances of iwi

Cross claims eliminate the challenges posed by the indigenous peoples by nullifying the experiences of the indigenous–throwing money [pittance] at the problem [quick fix-Treaty Settlements] (Fleuras, 1999). The cross-claims process setting Treaty of Waitangi grievances conducted by the Crown can be likened to a 'putting in wedges strategy.' The Treaty Settlements process is the settlement of historical breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi by the Crown. Settlement may include redress of a combination of cash, property or other mechanisms agreed to by the settling iwi and the Crown. Where the redress offered by the Crown to iwi (A) and is objected to by iwi (B) a cross-claims negotiations process is entered into. At this point negotiations stop until the matters are resolved between each iwi and confirmed to the Crown. Throughout this process, the role of the Crown transforms from 'defendant' to absentee facilitating adjudicator. The Crown does not become involved, it is not present within the hui however, where there is no agreement the Minister makes the final decision. How and on what information the Minister made her or his decision, remains unknown.

On the 9th November 2018, Judge Armstrong of the Waitangi Tribunal accepted the applications by Ngai te Rangi iwi for an 'urgent hearing' to inquire into the processes followed by the Crown in dealing with the settlement of overlapping interests. At the heart of their case is that the Crown incorrectly allocated redress to Ngāti Tara Tokanui, individual Hauraki iwi and the Hauraki Collective specifically:

- The fifth seat in the Tauranga Moana Framework
- Department of Conservation related rights
- Ministry of Primary Industries (MPI) Advisory Committee rights
- MPI Quota Rights of First Refusal (RFR)
- Pare Hauraki Worldview statement of "Mai Matakana ki Matakana"
- Pare Hauraki Redress Area claims are up to Oturu stream (Te Puna)
- Athenree Forest
- RFR properties in Tauranga Moana
- Commercial properties in Tauranga Moana
- Kaimai Statutory Acknowledgement
- Individual iwi redress items insofar as they overlap with the iwi of Ngāi Te Rangi

Leading up to the November decision requests were made for a tikanga settlement process as opposed to a Crown determined crossclaims overlapping process described above. According to Fletcher (2016) a tikanga approach within a cross-claims disputes process would include whānaungatanga (relatedness, especially as between different iwi and hapū), whakapapa (genealogy and the process of determining mana, rights and ancestry), utu (reciprocity of actions to maintain balance), mana (spiritual prestige, force, influence), kaitiakitanga (guardianship, especially of the environment) and several others. To this, I would add, ahikaaroa (uninterrupted occupation over an extended period of time) and take' taunaha (the right to name). Fletcher's paper is laudable, it discusses issues of tikanga within the Treaty settlements: the complexities and nuances of the 'crossclaims' environment. Regrettably, because of the scope of his Master paper, it did not explore the question of Treaty settlement processes that cut across tikanga giving rise to further grievances. This is the position of Ngāti Koi, Ngāti Tara Tokanui as the settlement redress received in Tauranga Moana resulted from a Crown established crossclaims process. In this manner, it cut across tikanga and iwi systems of settlement, negotiation and repair where challenges and disputes were

settled through the rituals of whānaungatanga contextualised by the rites of whakapapa.

As a result of the Mackay strategies, tūpuna narratives were silenced iwi connectedness was severed obliterating Ngāti Koi presence in Tauranga Moana. Due to lack of resources and costs of travel, Ngāti Koi did not participate in the Native Land Court Hearings for Tauranga Moana. Held in Auckland. the hearings were attended by Ngāti Tamatera, Ngāti Maru, Ngāti Ranginui and Ngai te Rangi these iwi determined the interests within the Katikati Te Puna purchase the ambit of the current Tauranga Moana grievances.

The tribunal process convened by Judge Armstrong is welcomed as the primary references and sources of information will be extracted from the Native Land Court minutes and the kōrero of Ngāti Koi tūpuna, in their fullest context. Sadly the 'expertise' of lucidly recalling this history in a tikanga defined process within a tikanga framework, is now no longer available within the iwi.

An outcome of colonisation is to lay blame on the Crown therefore, the responsibility of the individual is masked. There is no mistaking, the Crown is the author of 19th-century colonisation and its ongoing persistence in the modern era. There were no constraints on Mackay, the size of the El Dorado was the totality of Hauraki and the whole had to be claimed by whatsoever strategy necessary. These matters are reported in depth in the Waitangi Tribunals, Hauraki Report Vol.2. David Williams' book, 'Te Kooti Tango Whenua' The Native Land Court, 1864 – 1909, Huia Publishers, Wellington pp. 329-339, provides a tabular summary on the laws that facilitated and privileged Crown purchases.

A full reading of the claims relating to the Katikati Te Puna Block can be found at Stokes, E. (1993). "Te Raupatu o Tauranga Moana. Documents relating to the Tribal History, Confiscation and Reallocation of Tauranga Lands. The University of Waikato. Wai 215 A18."

Mackay was a human being socialised by a specific cultural framing. Historical commentators tend to discuss him in relationship to whether he did or did not

comply with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. Nowhere in all of the readings does Mackay mention or refer to the Treaty of Waitangi in his dealing with Hauraki iwi.

He perceived himself to be an employee, an agent of the Crown and that is how the Crown and subsequent historical commentators have regarded him. But when we strip away the façade of 'employee' what is left is a story the story of Mackay a person of no fixed abode from a mystical place he called home with an equally mythical heritage.

Far from the heather-clad hills of Bighouse and Scouwie which overlooks Loch a' Bhadaidh Daraich "he died alone and paralysed" (Cowan, 1911), (Dunwoodie, 2008), in a one-room shed on the soil of Ngāti Koi. In Mackaytown a plaque was recently unveiled by the great-grandson of the settler Joshua Thorpe was dedicated as a memorium to his name. In this manner the story of 'settler,' personified by Thorp and Mackay, is harrowed in stone, linked by deed and enforced in legislation they have become part of the narrative of colonisation.

And what, we must ask, of Ngāti Koi? It lives on in the narratives be quested by tūpuna, carried in the hearts and minds the genetic coding of iwi. And to this, we give humble thanks to James Mackay Jnr and the many who brought a system that safely preserved the kōrero of Te Keepa and the Ngāti Koi tūpuna who narrated the stories of whakapapa: to an ancestress who alighted a waka, a tūpuna and an 'ope-large body of people' journeyed to become an iwi.

Over this Christmas period of 2018, as cross-claims negotiator I am compiling, alongside kaumātua and our legal counsel, Aidan Warren of McCaw Lewis, the submissions for the Waitangi Tribunal Hearing called by Tauranga Moana. With the information amassed in this study and alongside a team of researchers, we will speak the long-ago narratives of tūpuna about an iwi and the places they once called home.

Owharoa was the first piece of land within the Ohinemuri rohe-the tribal district to be taken before the Native Land Court. It was the first opportunity that Ngāti

Koi had to assert their distinct rights, rights based on whakapapa ki te whenua – connectedness to 'their' world, ahi kaaroa-extended presence, tunaoho-naming, take' pakanga-war and battle, the establishment of ancient pa – fortified settlement, urupa – burial ground and wahi tapu – sites of significance.

The case for Owharoa was the first-hand experience by Ngāti Koi of the institutional practices of the British Crown; it comprised the widest gambit of human chicanery the knell that colonisation as a legal configuration had arrived for Ngāti Koi, Ngāti Tara Tokanui. However, the events both within and outside of the Court did not deter Keepa and Ngāti Koi rangatira they now knew what was to come for ahead were the court hearings for the tūpuna Waihi, Ohinemuri, and Te Poho: the Owharoa case was simply a mechanism, a catalyst of conscientisation an instance of Ngāti Koi iwi praxis.

And so, to my question what is my story thus far and does it fit within the parameters of praxis? To this, I would assert an affirmative response with the qualification that praxis is not a modern concept it was a traditional response by Māori to phenomenon and practised before and through the arrival of the British when they first interpolated with sovereign iwi polities of Aotearoa.

In this chapter, I have explored the people and discussed examples of the background that gave rise to the narratives of Ngāti Koi tūpuna. The intention was not to chronicle the procedure and impact of colonisation as it unfolded but to provide a view of how those events underpinned the praxis responses of Ngāti Koi tūpuna. Narratives are important, they are a production of iwi tūpuna they are a re-presentation of the history of an iwi. Of penultimate importance is the tūpuna-the person, the iwi-the tribe of people, the rangatira-chief these are the elements that are the most important aspects of this study.

Chapter 7

Conclusion and Findings

Take the ideas of the masses and concentrate them through study,
turn them into concentrated and systematic ideas,
and then go again,
until the masses embrace them as their own
(Comstock on Mao Tse Tung 1999)

7.1 Symbols of re-construction: The praxis of critical kaupapa Māori

What this chapter is about

In this study, I have explored how a crisis lead to the conscientising of Ngāti Koi iwi, this led to the discovery of tūpuna narratives creating the conditions of praxis which is transformative change and revitalisation of iwi making and remaking their cultural identity. The overarching aim of the study was to create a body of critical kaupapa Māori theories capable of analysing and maintaining the change process that occurred for Ngāti Koi. These changes were exponential affecting the whole of life because they were wrought from the narratives of whakapapa that narrated the connectedness of iwi to ancestress, tūpuna, whenua, to the world and the realms of Papatūānuku and Rangitane.

I argue that whakapapa remains the same, unchangeable it is deeply rooted in the depths of Papatūānuku oralised through the narratives of tūpuna: what is needed is an efficacious practice of repositioning the centrality of Kaupapa Māori theories as praxis. As an action science "critical kaupapa Māori does not predict, idealize the world for groups undertaking transformative change its aim is to illuminate, to uncover the institutional configurations and structures to make clear the historical specificities and how these have shaped their present-day conditions" (Smith, v1999).

A number of theoretical approaches are introduced to interrogate how cultural identities are performed and contested. The struggle for ethnic identity and

reconstruction is seen as a dynamic social process in which the interpretations of colonisation and indigenous people are historically and culturally constructed. The importance of tūpuna narratives cannot be underscored as the repositories of iwi history and whakapapa they have shifted the paradigm of iwi construction away from seeing iwi as powerless victims of colonisation to viewing them as survivors, as social and cultural actors in their own right and controlling their own destiny. This is not to deny, de-sensitise enduring institutional violence and institutionalised domination created by European diaspora, whose cultural identity 'in' itself, is of a hybrid status. The avoidance of creating a one-sided actor-oriented approach is crucial to the study, by focussing on the individual the power of colonial forces to reshape and reconstruct ethnic and social memory is dismissed.

This chapter summarises the major themes and discusses the findings against the key questions of this study, highlighting the new modes methods and theories discovered, the limitations and wheresoever possible provides the solutions. The study concludes with a discussion on the future directions of this work.

Background of this chapter

At a hui to approve my PhD research proposal an examiner with a very quizzical expression enquired what is praxis? The proposer of the question adorned in the full 'ta moko' of his tribe, personified the mana of whakapapa, the whakairo inscribed the power of tikanga worn with the dignity of those first ancients narrated by Te Awekotuku in her book Mau Moko (Te Awekotuku, 2004). However, it is not until the end of this PhD journey that I learn he is my close whakapapa of Gage and Porouru of Maniapoto. But, at that hui, he was bewildered, perplexed in his disbelief as to how come a people do not know their whakapapa, do not know the origins of their iwi, their marae. And there I was at this most important hui equating the process of identity revitalisation with a very foreign term, that of praxis. In his view, this simply added another complex layer of confusion to this study: wise eyes previewed a horizon of the entrenchment of cultural disfigurement for our iwi.

This chapter is divided into sections based on the key topic areas of the central question of this study, these are tūpuna narrative, identity, critical kaupapa Māori and methodology. As a way of structuring and keeping this chapter relevant I have brought forwards the sub-questions from each respective chapter to structure this 'exploration.'

7.2 Critical Kaupapa Māori

The key sub-questions of this chapter are:

1. what is praxis?
2. what is critical kaupapa Māori and how does this contribute to the establishment of tūpuna narratives as catalysts of praxis?
3. what is the etymology of critical and kaupapa and how do these terms relate to praxis?
4. how does the study of critical kaupapa Māori assist our understandings of colonisation?
5. how does a study of critical kaupapa Māori benefit iwi?

7.2.1.What is critical kaupapa Māori

A successful outcome of this thesis is the establishment of new theories, theories that align with Kaupapa Māori. Critical Kaupapa Māori is an intersection between Māori and Marxist theory. The establishment of narrative as 'Southern Marxism' is a discursive application, it is new terminology created by this study a direct response to Smiths 'call to theory' (Smith, 1996). According to Slack …successful theorizing is a living body of thought, capable of engaging and grasping something of the truth about insistent historical realities." Colonization is one such reality, understanding how its 'reach' influences the day to day circumstances for iwi-Māori requires the continual development of theoretical models hybridized and tested through many 'strands' and indigenous schools of thought. (Slack on Hall, in Hall & Morley, 1996, p.114).

Kaupapa Māori provides the terms of reference to make decisions; to interpret literature and the concepts I have utilised to analyse the data, literature and information I have referred to, it determines what stays, what goes and why. Foremostly, it brings context and appropriateness to the work because it represents

the philosophies and epistemologies of Māori. It is praxis because Critical Kaupapa Māori emerged in response to an ongoing organic crisis. Critical Kaupapa Māori requires a different way of being, in the world, it is a modern form of political intervention on a very old cultural framework.

Kaupapa Māori as a scholastic endeavour indorses a different way of being a 'political intellectual' striving to make the world a better place. In my work I have found that I can 'think' at two levels firstly: it provides the context of study it contextualizes the reality of the phenomenon under study which is iwi cultural identity. Secondly, Kaupapa Māori works on the understanding that one set of 'truths' 'practices' and 'understandings may work in one particular context yet, the 'same' would not apply in a different context.

Kaupapa Māori as an intellectual practice established by Hingangaroa Smith (1997) and Tuhiwai Smith (1999) it draws and reproduces key principles, its values and epistemological foundations origin from 'kaupapa Māori' the later which is defined as a philosophical doctrine incorporating the knowledge, skills attitudes and values of Māori society. Critical Kaupapa Māori as a theoretical tool is important it injects difference into the structure of criticism in order to produce/generate critical theory. Social agents-researchers are impregnated with their own historical experiences the ability to critique, question, probe explore is limited by the systems 'we' are attempting to analyse. Critical Kaupapa Māori cuts through this acting as an intervention, a disturbance 'within' the act of interpretation. Traditionalists demands for a 'stable;' model-tradition- reference community, fixity hegemony and origin are questioned as new sites, [Critical Kaupapa Māori], are opened up as new struggles for introducing cultural difference are reimagined (Bhabha, 1994, pp 35,37). As an action science "critical kaupapa Māori does not predict, idealize the world for groups undertaking transformative change its aim is to illuminate, to uncover the institutional configurations and structures to make clear the historical specificities and how these have shaped their present-day conditions" (Smith, 1999).

Culture, I argue is not isolated, it does not work in a vacuum, it requires 'another' to exist to change – transform 'it' into its own likeness. As noted in the previous

paragraph, tūpuna narrative practices are the device the medium that inserts difference into the structures of criticism producing critical theories. Through the Kaupapa Māori methodology of whangai, praxis is aligned alongside its role to turn 'tauiwi' ideology on its head. However, its sole function is not as a turning device, it acts as a guide identifying the pathways to change from within its own culture, in this manner its penultimate goal is to recolonise – change the essences of its culture.

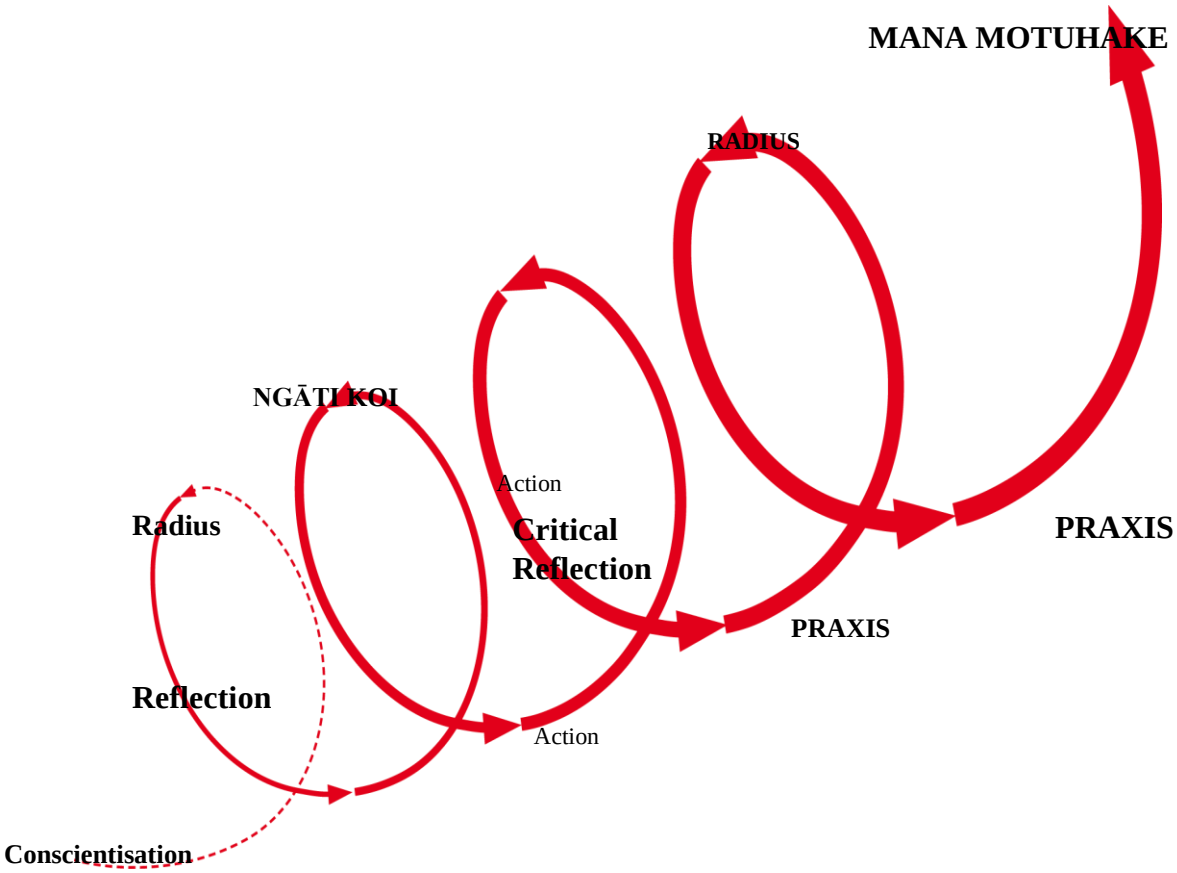
7.2.2 Question 1. What is praxis?

Key objective: To provide a methodological framework to assist iwi to demystify and commence praxis actions. Praxis turns ideology on its head.

Presently, according to Nikora, "conceptual frameworks depicted as hierarchies are not fashionable. Relational or multi-dimensional ones are." (Nikora, 2007). Current diagrams depicting praxis tend towards the line, bar, boxed and spiral depictions each noted for the breaks the segmentation of each stage, the impression is praxis as something disconnected, fragmented a stop-start affair.

As a direct outcome of this study, I have modified the Clothoid Loop as a diagrammatic model of praxis to plot the progress of Ngāti Koi through the stages of the praxis cycles. As a model, it can be adapted and applied to any human endeavour seeking praxis outcomes: an uncomplicated design it is constructed largely of arrow-headed lines its straightforwardness articulating the process of praxis in a clear and simple manner: each stage is joined, there is a sense of continuity and flow, of ongoing continual achievement towards higher standards and the attainment of iwi mana motuhake.

In summary, the key elements of the Loop Diagram below are *Conscientisation:* this occurs at the beginning of the praxis cycle: the term 'narrative upbeat' describes the change resulting from the upward process of *action-reflection-action*. The *radius* of the loop is slightly offset from zenith high point, its angle precipitating the descent 'the downbeat' of the narrative. Energy from the downbeat actions are harnessed for the steep uphill gradient this is where the core activities of praxis occur. In this manner, we see how narrative methodology incorporates the notion of praxis as a continual upward process.



7.2.3 Question 2. What is critical kaupapa Māori and how does this contribute to the establishment of tūpuna narratives as catalysts of praxis?

An important finding of this study is that kaupapa Māori is a critical science of praxis. Its objective is to seek change through the concerted actions of iwi Māori. Importantly, these actions include the discovery and acting on the narratives of tūpuna. Change for this study as espoused by critical kaupapa Māori is not simply change for the sake of change, neither is it an adjustment in everyday identity practices, nor is it about theorising change. It is the process of transformation, through critical reflection and importantly action: its key objective is the emancipation of iwi. This is the difference between critical kaupapa Māori and traditional theories that espouse change: change is about iwi revitalising their cultural identity to achieve mana motuhake at a political level and tino

rangatiratanga at a societal political level. Praxis from the perspective of this study is founded on the principle that iwi can actively achieve tino rangatiratanga-political autonomy through revolutionary action.

According to Smith important elements of a kaupapa Māori theory of change would be summarised as being:-

> "A critical examination of the context of colonisation and of subsequent Pākehā domination,
> A critical analysis of the interface of the economic, cultural and political in forming Pākehā domination in and outside of schooling and which also informs resistance and transformation initiatives
> A 'taken for granted' assumption of the validity and legitimacy of Māori language, knowledge and culture,
> A critical concern te re-centralise the importance of theory to inform analyse resistances and transformative strategies adopted by Māori and to make them even more effective" (Smith, 1997, p.41)

I compare Smith's template of change with those developed in Chapter 3 of this study. I intend to compare the differences between a model of change based on theorizing and examination to a model of change based on critical kaupapa Māori advocated by this study these are set out below.

> Kaupapa Tuatahi: Identify movements or social groups whose interests are progressive
> Kaupapa Tuarua: The search for meanings must be driven by the iwi-grouping.
> Kaupapa Tuatoru: To take part in a theoretically grounded program of action which will change social conditions and, in addition, will engender new less alienated understandings and needs.
> Kaupapa Tuawha: To construct models of the determinate relations between social conditions, intersubjective interpretations of those conditions, and participants' actions.

There are pitfalls to Smiths' template of change, taken out of context, it idealises-theorises the world these activities are antithetical to a critical kaupapa Māori concept of praxis. For this study kaupapa Māori is an action science, as a critical science it is praxis-oriented in that it seeks praxian change and transformation.

7.2.4 Question 3. How does the study of critical kaupapa Māori assist our understandings of colonisation?

Studies on praxis tend to follow "the nature of a report, or a progress update" (Smith, 1997, p.41) they are a report on the findings of what occurred. In similar manner, Smith's thesis is a theoretical analysis reporting on the progress of the Kura Kaupapa Māori Schooling in New Zealand. If we were to position Smith's model on the praxis flow chart it would 'hover' the stages of reflection-critical reflection: reviewing the research and initial hypothesis, gathering and analysing the data. These aspects of the praxis cycle are important however, they can be all-consuming as action is given over to reflection and review.

These are the limitations of praxis which is partially due to its inherent nature which is about iwi identity being made and remade in cyclical, episodic stages and key to the process is critical reflection. Although critical to the process an inherent characteristic of praxis is reflection. The stage is about review and critical analysis it is also about break to ease tension, as in slackening pace it has a negative impact on the flow and movement through the stages of praxis: for Ngāti Koi this stage created a hiatus: actions stopped. Iwi become whakamā: in the case of Ngāti Koi a contributing factor was the hegemonic fist of the Treaty Settlements, land and cash arrived, iwi accepted the payouts effectively stopping all praxis action and the achievement of mana-motuhake. If we were to transpose this action to the Loop Structure the narrative of Ngāti Koi would be firmly positioned between the beginning and middle climes of reflection the praxis cycle fixed in a continual struggle. Why? Because the Treaty Settlements process did not adequately provide for and respond to the historical grievances of Ngāti Koi. Further, colonisation in all its barbarity, injustice and absurdity continues. New Zealand – Māori, Ngāti Koi remain 'caught' in a tight hegemonic fist of colonisation.

This break would be reflected as an implosion, and the Loop Diagram depicted as an inward folding spiral.

A critical kaupapa Māori approach keeps these elements in check, its aim is revitalisation, but it also works as an agent of revitalisation through the ringa raupā. The purpose of the ringa raupā is critical research, theory and kaupapa the key objective of their role is to initiate action by providing an adequate knowledge of the social conditions developed historically for Ngāti Koi and indeed all Māori. Colonisation affected all (Māori) and it is the role of ringa raupā to co-construct what a future would look like, a future based on Māori systems political, legislation and social justice systems. More importantly, it's about linking and associating co-constructing "to eliminate the irrational construction of contradictory social conditions the elimination of certain social and political conditions" (Comstock, 2007, p.384). In this manner, critical kaupapa Māori provides the conceptual constellations, the models and prototypes of change: these are the cumulative findings answer relating to question three.

7.2.5 Question 4. How does the study of critical kaupapa Māori assist our understandings of colonisation? From diagram to symbol to kaupapa

When I first assembled the theoretical framework of this study, I could not conceptualise how to demonstrate the very-complex, multifaceted concept of praxis. From those early lectures on Sociological Thought, I knew there was a place in this study for praxis. 'But how' in terms of how would I give this concept voice, illustrate it clearly and simply? Discussing my problem in a supervision context, it became clear that I had to build an actual model of praxis (Whanga, personal communication, 2016). I cut its shape from coloured paper, but it remained – lifeless, I cooked spaghetti pasta in the hope that the flexibility of the strands would enable the folding and curling to capture the loop, however, they dried too quickly snapping at the least amount of tension applied. The answers simply eluded me, how do I diagrammatically, symbolically, demonstrate a kaupapa Māori method of explanation?

One of the perplexing issues of this study was how do I demonstrate that the Clothoid Loop is an exemplar model of praxis? How do I show the movement of iwi achieving conscientisation and progressing through the stages of praxis: as a practical way of linking the theory of praxis to the actuality of change and transformation? I turned to the literature, however, the deeper I investigated the 'more' the models, such as the Roller Coaster at 'Rainbows End, a Themed Fun Park,' favoured a 'chemistry, physics' explanation. These were rejected as they were mathematics scientistic based models that did not depict the people-human-the iwi story of change

However, an exemplary model of praxis presented itself from a most unexpected quarter. My home is situated wedged between a 500m high cliff and the Pacific Ocean. From spring to midsummer this narrow hinterland is part of the migration route of the Pipiwharauroa, the Shining Cuckoo. On this particular day, a Pipiwharauroa flew past its flight a bobbing pattern of seeming awkwardness. In a short distance, it started to climb gently at first picking up speed the angle of its flight became more and more vertical almost perpendicular, and then, most unexpectedly at a great height, it stopped in mid-flight and toppled backwards, hurtling downwards. Thinking the 'worst' we started to run hoping to catch it but, in its fall, it opened its wings rising higher gaining height recommencing its stop-start looping spirals until it had cleared the cliff. Combining the roller coaster loop with the flight pattern of the pipiwharauroa I was able to design a most outstanding model of the process of praxis. these are new concepts that result from this study.

Tūpuna narratives are performative they are symbolic, metaphoric forms of communication: the construction of the praxis loop, based on the flight of the Pipiwharauroa, validates critical kaupapa Māori as an action science of praxis. Why and how does the flight of a bird validate a theory? Firstly, the Pipiwharauroa is connected to the author through whakapapa it is endemic to Aotearoa its connectedness narrated through tūpuna narrative and the whakapapa provided by Roberts on page 29. Secondly, it has developed and derived its practices from the world of Papatūānuku and Rangitane, thirdly, the criteria of observing its flight was based on manaakitanga, fourthly, the principle of Ako was

engaged in this way I the ‘knower’ became the learner, I became the student learning and the Pipiwharauroa the teacher.

The flight of the Pipiwharauroa enabled me to establish a number of criteria firstly: I was able to diagrammatically link the theory of praxis to iwi undertaking a process of change and secondly, to fulfil the kaupapa Māori criterion of utilising exemplars taken from the ‘natural’ world. By applying a reliable narrative account of a phenomenon of the real world (the Pipiwharauroa) and utilising its flight behaviour in the manner that I have done qualifies this work as a Critical Kaupapa Māori based study.

These are powerful forms of kaupapa Māori methodology, they are the lived experiences that synthesis tūpuna narrative practices with kaupapa Māori and kaupapa Māori with critical theory. This section answers question four of the chapter on critical kaupapa Māori the importance of this discussion demonstrates the benefits of critical kaupapa Māori for iwi considering praxis actions

7.2.6 The key findings of the methodology chapter:

New methods based on Critical Kaupapa Māori a diagrammatic model of praxis has been developed

In response to Hingangaroa Smiths ‘call to theory,’ the guidelines setting out a role description for a Decolonising Researcher demonstrating the practical application of praxis were developed

Māori, iwi, epistemological practices are powerful, they change and transform iwi cultural identity, they provide the tools and conceptual approaches to analyse and understand these changes

The conceptual constellations of Māori and iwi derive from taonga gifted by cosmogony

Praxis can be derailed through hegemonic institutional practices

Praxis is burdensome: it requires resourcing beyond the financial limits of iwi. It requires more than one iwi, it is a national strategy

7.3 Tūpuna narrative:

This section seeks to address the core aspect of the central question which is what are tūpuna narratives? This discussion is contextualised by the specific objectives of this chapter these are:

- to define tūpuna narrative as a theory, and intervention strategy.
- to draw links between narrative and iwi methods of narration
- to demonstrate the authenticity and validity of tūpuna narrative practices.
- to critically interrogate the intersections between story and narrative with the objective of contributing to the establishment of narrative study as a conceptual field in-its-own right.

7.3.1 Question 1. What are tūpuna narratives? Objective 1. To understand how do tūpuna narratives exemplify the authenticity and validity of tūpuna narrative practices?

From the findings of this study, I propose that tūpuna narratives are symbolised as words, signs and symbols they are narrated as voice, they are etched on; parchment, a rock deep in a cave, they are a filigree of design on a poupou, a tukutuku, kowhaiwhai within a wharenui, the body language of the narrator. In this study, I explored how tūpuna narratives transform and revitalize iwi cultural identity. Tūpuna narratives are the storied life events constructed on the cultural contexts of iwi. Grounded on Kaupapa Māori they enable the researcher to understand, analyse and reflect on how the role of the settler, the policymaker, the institution perpetuates the ongoing colonisation of Aotearoa. In this way, they enable, inform and create the conditions of praxis which is the making and remaking of iwi cultural identity. In this study I have applied the tūpuna narratives of Keepa Raharuhi: adopted by iwi they became transformative tools, the catalysts for change and transformation. From the time of the arrival of the Waitangi Tribunal in Hauraki (2001) a large number of iwi Kaumātua and Kuia, including our parents, have passed on. The physical links to Te Keepa less tangible, the loss of their contributions to the historical-cultural narrative of Ngāti Koi cannot be quantified. Today, tūpuna narratives are housed in digitalised electronic banks, accessible by two clicks of technology they are the perfect replication of the narratives narrated by tūpuna, what is missing is that the respected voice of the

kaumātua, who gave context, reality and substance linking the fringes of time before colonisation with the present, their voices are no longer heard. While their voices have been silenced, the narratives of Te Keepa remain, they will continue on overtime. This study has found that whakapapa as a narrative practice of naming is an important part of identity it is the vector of who we are, where we have come from. For some respectability lies at the heart of having one iwi name, unchanged since time immemorial. Coming to terms with the spectre of being known as 'another' was very traumatic for many members of the iwi. What became apparent in the lead up to and the researching of Wai 714 were the abundant questions, the confusion, the anger created by the mystery that surrounded the imposition of the name Ngāti Koi. Individuals, whānau and hapū questioned what and who was Ngāti Koi, who were they and how are they associated with Ngāti Tara Tokanui. Through the abundant whakapapa provided by Te Keepa; iwi found the keys to their questions. His narrative compositions demonstrated how whakapapa become the greatest levers of transformation and praxian change. According to Keepa his whakapapa to Ngamarama is as follows (Mataia, Hauraki Minute Book [MB] 36, 20 November 1894, p.205).

Ngamarama
|
Koroua
|
Tuatai
|
Mokohurahuru
|
Tarawa = Hako (II)
|
Te Uira
|
Tukiwaho
|
Te Ruapokirangi
|
Tokanui (I)
|
Mangouta
|
Tokanui (II)

(Raharuhi, Hauraki Minute Book No 29, p.23)

Whānaungatanga is the practice of living our relationships, our kinship connections and ties. Described by Bishop (2005) and Durie (1998) whānaungatanga is about establishing relationships and connectivity. Knowing one's relationship to people and land holds a high significance. In practice, many of the people descended from Tara or Tokanui trace their origins to both ancestors. Te Keepa spoke of each of the iwi as separate entities and it is not until 1929 that the iwi was merged through the establishment of the Reha KauHou whakapapa document.

7.3.2. The narrative of whakapapa

A Kaupapa Māori approach enabled an examination of the embedded meanings within the context of colonisation: the very intricate webs of relations and how these created a conjunctural crisis for Ngāti Koi. Through the violent incision and the ongoing intrusion of colonisation the voices of Ngāti Koi iwi were silenced.

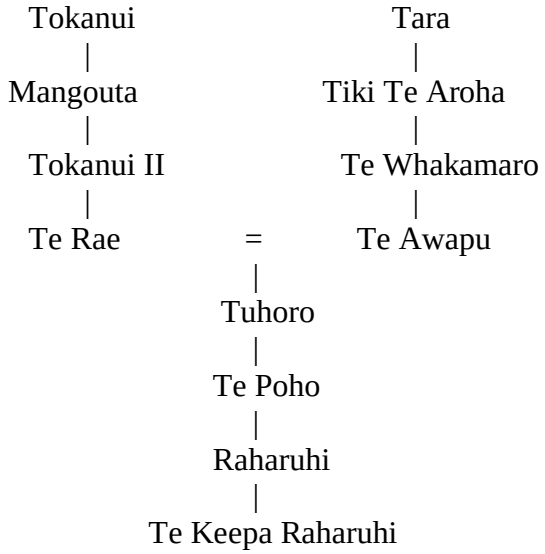
By aligning the theoretical elements of 'Critical' alongside Kaupapa Māori resulted in the demasking of the Crown agent Mackay and the falsified whakapapa of Ngāti Tokanui. These issues were not exposed in successive Native Land Court trials, Waitangi Tribunal Hearings that spanned the Waitangi Tribunal claims of three distinct iwi groupings over a period of 186 years.

In chapter four I have liked the structure of whakapapa to the chromosomal structure of the 'DNA' the core essence of life. Humankind would not exist without DNA, equally iwi and Māori would not exist without whakapapa. As a taxonomic database whakapapa codifies the relationships between all living and inanimate objects archived within the narratives of tūpuna, bound by the tikanga of iwi.

Earlier in this study (see page 29) I applied Roberts' taxonomic model of whakapapa to demonstrate how a Māori worldview is holistic and cyclic, one in which every person is linked to every living thing and to the atua. "Whakapapa is, unchangeable (Matamua, October 2017), it cannot be transferred altered or modified, it is the genealogical connectedness of all things. Māori customary concepts are interconnected through a whakapapa (genealogical structure) that

links te taha wairua (spiritual aspects) and te taha kikokiko (physical aspects) (Henare, 2012, p. 9). The whakapapa narrated by Te Keepa encapsulated Ngāti Koi reality it linked the whenua -land to tūpuna - people, they espoused a Māori epistemology shaped in the form of genealogical, tribal and traditional recital. They were narratives for, by and of an iwi and they accomplished their purpose of connecting the individual to iwi, to geography, to cosmogony two hundred years after the first utterance. Whakapapa is the ability to code, organise, program and language the relational elements of the principle whānaungatanga. “Without this, according to Nikora whakapapa, becomes a mostly abhorrent picture of genetic descent with echoes back to pictures of the evolution of humankind (Nikora, 2007, p.346). The following whakapapa from Tara is provided, it has been taken from Court minute accounts which have been compared with 19th Century tūpuna accounts and recent whakapapa of Reha KauHou the noted Ngāti Koi Historian and Chief of Ngāti Koi, Ngāti TumuTumu. According to Te Keepa, his lineage commenced with the Tara the eponymous ancestor of the iwi Ngāti Koi, Ngāti Tara Tokanui.

Ngāti Tara Tokanui were linked as one iwi through the marriage of Tokanui(’s) daughter, Te Rae, who was married to Te Whakamaro(’s) son, Te Awapu.



(Te Tuhi o te Rangi) (Raharuhi, Hauraki MB.5, p.228).

Narrative identity approaches utilised in this study do not provide a procedure for settling disputes rather I have sought to organise and provide conceptual solutions to conflicts that have arisen from historical identity claims. Its overarching goal is to provide decisionmakers, scholars, iwi with tools and new methodologies to ensure approaches are culturally pertinent. In narrative study, there is a critical awareness of the inherent challenges to studies based on iwi culture and identity.

7.3.3 Marama

The ancestress Marama alighted the Tainui waka at Opouteretererangi (Wharekawa) and begat the many tribes who settled the Eastern Seaboard of Hauraki and the Bay of Plenty. If we were to sum the definitions, within the previous chapters of this study, tūpuna narrative would equate to unquantifiable time, "recital, conflict, fact, lore, transformation, evolution, connectedness and progress. European ethnologists and anthropologists interpreted Māori socio-political structures as a static clone fashioned on that which prevailed in European societies. Nineteenth-century writers conceived that descent was the primary link binding the members of Iwi or hapū: that is, not only were its members kin to each other laterally but descent from a specific individual, make, created the primary, vertical bond delineating and uniting social groups and categories.

This worldview smattered of patronising assumptions by both past and present commentators that iwi structures were continuous arrangements where descendants originated from a prominent member of one of the famous canoes that voyaged to Aotearoa from the ancestral homeland of Hawaiki. Furthermore, the idea of a single male holding dominion over a particular fragment of land and authority over a group of people dominated this worldview. Their records which only included the superficial aspects of Māori society were framed and constructed for their audience at home (England).

What was missing from the earlier reports were 'women.' All 'being-identity' suppressed their stories moulded into a frame of wife, progeniture, role player. Their records bereft of the importance of establishing kinship ties, intermarriages and any attempt to define the complex relationships between the people, leaders and their people, settlement and occupation escaped the barb of the anthropologic

quill. Etched within a latticework of ‘ka moe, i puta,’ ‘ka moe,’ ‘ka moe i puta’ the narrated templates of identity connect tūpuna to individual whānau, hapū, iwi they define present-day Ngāti Koi embedding the iwi ‘to’ the totality of their identity-defining their interrelatedness to all things metaphysical, the land, sea and sky. From this study what I found is that whakapapa is not ‘begat’ from the books representing another culture, it does not progenerate from religious incantations, it cannot be exchanged for cake and or for silence, whakapapa does not disappate in the manner of fog as described by Gibbons (2002). It can be falsified, but it cannot be changed. Whakapapa are the cousins that wrote me my whakapapa in that long-ago school playground, they are the whānau who stand shoulder to shoulder in the urupa of the iwi because we are the whakapapa descendants of an eponymous ancestress who voyaged to Aotearoa Tainui waka.

7.3.4 Objective 2. To draw links between narrative and iwi methods of narration to demonstrate the authenticity and validity of tūpuna narrative practices.

Te Keepa: Authenticity the praxis of tūpuna

Te Keepa was born at Takahere Pa, Otaumarunganui, south Paeroa, the eldest son of Raharuhi Te Raharuhi chief of Ngāti Koi his mother was Maraea Whiria of Ngāti Hako. He was schooled in the art of and had responsibilities of being chief from a young age, an unassuming man he was short in stature, softly spoken but honest, his word was his word. Te Raharuhi had contracted rheumatoid arthritis (in the supporting documents accounts of the court clerk) and lived his mid-years to later life confined, as the result of his confinement he taught himself and Te Keepa to read and speak English he later published accounts of battles, whakapapa, and extensive boundary lines of Ngāti Koi for the Native Land Court.

Keepa was learned to such an extent he was able to recite with accurate consistency ancient whakapapa and names of the traditional rohe wahi tapu and urupa at many forums (Bassett & Kay, 2001, 41).

> "Te Keepa said the boundaries of the land that Tara conquered commenced at Waiowhao and went to Matariki, Mangapouri and Ngapuketurua and then to Waiore, Te Ruahorehore and Papakairau and then seaward to Maungapi, Te Rautauwhiri, Paparakauri and Kakanui and then to Tupanapana on the coast. Ngāti Tara continued to live at Owharoa and Piraurahi. Tara returned to his kainga at Piraurahi with his son Honumanawanui. Tara's sons Tikitearoha and Hekei, his grandson Te Whakamaro, and Tara's great-grandsons Maioro and Te Awapu, resettled at Owharoa (Hauraki MB 5, 25 October 1870, pp. 125-226, in Bassett & Kay 2001).

The belief that life is lived in peaceful coexistence with all things and that issues, conflicts and tensions should be settled by 'kanohi ki te kanohi' was crafted in Te Keepa by Te Raharuhi from a young age. Te Keepa spent much of his teenage early adult years refurbishing important pa and home sites. These were established from Te Kura a Maia overlooked by Tohureo Maunga to Piraurahi: 7 kilometres south-west of Paeroa.

7.3.5. Stories of Responsibilities

Apprenticed at a young age to the needs of the constant refurbishment of wahi sites he was responsible with the iwi to upkeep the gardens and cultivations of Ngāti Koi. A distinguishing feature of Ngāti Koi cultivations was their proximity to major Pa (fortified bastion), which they maintained. The pa sites were situated on prominent hillocks or mountain sites and the flat areas at the base of these were the areas of cultivation attached to the Pa. Mimitu was vulnerable from this point of view as its cultivations were planted on its north-facing slopes which were steep and required careful strategies of maintenance.

> "The cultivations associated with Iwimoa and Opataka were Rotokohu, Wairahaki, and Nukutauira. Mangouta and Tokanui II occupied Tapuariki Pa. The cultivations at Tapuariki were Ngahutoitoi, Te Papa, Kopatu and Te Wairere. To the east of Tapuariki was Pukepoto Pa where Tokanui II and Te Rae lived. Pukepoto shared the same cultivations as Tapuariki. The children of Te Rae and Te Awapu were born and grew up at Pukepoto.

> When grown, Tuhoro accompanied by ‘a good many’ people went to Wheturau on the Waitawheta Stream, where they built a pa called Tapuaeharuru. Tuhoro married Pareamurao at Wheturau, and their children Neneke and Te Poho were born at Wheturau.” (Bassett & Kay, 2001, p.14)

These were Keepa’(s) main tasks; to establish the planting cycles and replenish the iwi food supply, upkeep and maintain the pa sites, organise work teams to rebuild and refurbish whare\nui and maintain whānaungatanga relationships with neighbouring iwi and hapū maintain the obligations to ahikaroa. Involvement in these tasks meant that Te Keepa was conversant with the detailed rhythms of the land, the whakapapa linking the iwi to the land and the traditional history of Ngāti Koi. Besides his training and accomplishments in the traditional arts of the rangatira, Te Keepa was also acquainted with ‘things Pākehā’ which was instilled by Raharuhi snr who himself “published a description of the boundaries of Ngāti Tokanui(’s) rohe ‘to prevent anyone else giving authority to the European to search within them” (Hauraki MB 31, 7 April 1893, p. 16 in Bassett and Kay, 2001, p.67).

The naming-tunaoho practices of iwi are ‘pepeha’ these formulaic compositions consist of key natural-geographical elements, iwi, tūpuna who settled the rohe an iwi is derived from. For Ngāti Koi, there is a strict tikanga relating to the order of how each whakapapa element is arranged descending in the hierarchical order they commence with waka, maunga, awa, moana, tūpuna, Marae ending with the proper noun of the recitee. These are the elements of tūpuna narrative, they are the constitutive elements of identity. Therefore, my name is:

> Ko Tainui te waka
> Ko Te Aroha te maunga
> Ko Ohinemuri te awa
> Ko Tikapa te moana
> Ko Tara te tangata
> Ko Ngāti Tara Tokanui toku iwi
> Ko Ngahutoitoi toku marae
> Ko Amiria May Twihana Williams toku ingoa.

7.3.6. Rites and Rituals: birth and death

The languaging and articulation of whakapapa and its rituals of whānaungatanga are important and so too are the rites of birth and death. The perimeter of an iwi rohe is defined by the mana-deeds of a settling ancestress-tūpuna and their progeny. Iwi individuals claim their rights within that place through specific 'whakapapa' based practices such as the ritual of burying the pito (umbilicus) of a newborn baby in the soil. In this manner, the baby is connected in a physical and spiritual way 'through' the soil to Atua and iwi. Based on the deeds of the Atua Tane Mahuta, this practice is an important marker of iwi cultural identity and is eloquently captured by Reedy (2003) as a web of interconnectedness.

> After a baby has been born, the pito -umbilical cord and whenua - placenta are buried in the land, also called whenua. Because of these traditions, the child has a spiritual unity with the land, with its people, and with the universe at large. A sense of identity with the land of their birth is inculcated in the child; love and respect for the land and its environment, and the geographic features of home are learnt and imprinted in the child's mind (Reedy, 2003, p. 70).

Of birth:

Mum, her brothers and sisters her fathers' grandmother and her great-great grandmother were born beneath an ancient Cabbage Tree. Barely visible above the growth, it grew on the side of a hillock the base of the tree scooped out surrounded by large rocks as if the rocks and tree were one and beneath each rock was the placenta of each baby (Rose Te Okeroa Williams, 1993).

And of burial:

The plot Dad cared for is the site of the final resting place of our Tūpuna Tara, buried in a hollow Matai tree at Piraurahi where Tara lived to be a very old man. " When Tara died his bones were placed at Piraurahi in a hollow matai tree in the swamp" (Hauraki MB 5, 25 October 1870, p. 228). Te Keepa said that the tree was still visible in the 1870s (Bassett & Kay, 2001, p.33).

Hapi Rewi described the burial site in some detail:

> Tara died at Piraurahi. He was buried at 'Te Aua Matai' at Piraurahi. He was the first buried in the Aua Matai. Te Hakiri is also buried there. Moawhanaki, my papa was brought from Te Puru and buried there. That place is a swamp now, it was a forest formerly before Tara came. I know it because of that tree and the other stumps about there. The stump of the Aua Matai is in the sand of the swamp. The hole in it is about 2ft 6in in diameter, sticking above the swamp (Hauraki MB 5, 27 May 1870, pp. 149-150).

At a personal level, "the Church' barred these practices: all vestige of cultural practice, whakapapa rites to Aotearoa, expunged. The placenta umbilicus considered unclean were destroyed, newborn babies inducted into Church life were anointed with oil the pito replaced for the blood of Christ, whānau replaced for 'family in Christ,' Marae for Church edifice, narrative for parable, karakia for prayer, nga sacred maunga for Mount Sinai, Ohinemuri for the River Jordan, Tikapa Moana for the Dead Sea, Cosmogony for Jesus Christ.

At an iwi level, these identity markers were silenced by Crown agent and institutional chicanery. Through the narratives of tūpuna, revitalization occurred however, in that intervening time between loss and transformation the progress of degradation metaphorically marked as 'loss;' the loss of Te Reo, the loss of narrative and the sacred practices that contextualise and give meaning all were 'lost' presenting a cultural landscape of nothingness.

7.3.7 Narrative and story:

Objective 3: to critically interrogate the intersections between story and narrative with the objective of contributing to the establishing of narrative study as a conceptual field in-its-own right.

The overarching objective of this study has been to locate 'narrative practices' as an academic field of indigenous study 'in its own right' to transform and reposition knowledge production. An essential part of this process has been to distinguish between story and narrative.

And so, having arrived at this stage of the Conclusions chapter I ask; have I answered the key question of this study which is: does tūpuna narrative inform iwi

praxis, iwi cultural identity? To this, I emphatically respond yes! Without tūpuna narrative, there would be no iwi history why? Because they provide the methodology to remember and transmit. They provide the methods that enable indigenous scholars in their search of truth to peel back, to dove between and make sense of the layers of loss and silence. And when we put our stories alongside each other we provide a body of narrative methodology that speaks the deep foundations of Māori epistemology and in so doing we disrupt the colonial mindest of religious, cultural and institutional colonisation.

Of narrative Cronon writes:

> "whatsoever may be the perspective of the universe on the things going on around us, our human perspective is that we inhabit an endlessly storied world. Our very habit of partitioning the flow of time into "events," with their implied beginnings, middles and ends, suggests how deeply the narrative structure inheres in our experience of the world. "Narrative is not merely a successful way of describing events; its structure inheres in the events themselves" (Cronon, 1992, p.1368).

Purviewed from this perspective, the nothingness at the end of our family sojourn with the Covenanters epitomizes just how the all-encompassing storied narrative of colonisation can change the life course, obliterate a past and redefine the lives of iwi within the needs of its plot. Plenty Coups' explication of the Dustbowl disaster which reaped the loss of the whole of nature, of the bison trails and home, to nothingness (Cronon, 1992, p.1367) reverberates the story of a family and the cultural narratives of an iwi. When we left the 'Church' there was nothing-no whānau-no iwi when we returned to the world through Treaty Settlement there was 'nothing' but a River raped by cyanide its ancient macro-systems expunged, wahi tapu urupa and pa destroyed, maunga and hillock destroyed by the dynamite of the miner, land and Marae bissected by once warring iwi. The connecting factor between the experiences of Plenty Coups and his people and Te Keepa and his iwi was colonisation the nothingness wrought by tauiwi colonisers in a land, it's cultural essences that will never be theirs.

Stories about nature and geography are lovely they have their place but, what they do not have are the people, the ability to hold the sequels of human-manufactured events against the backdrop of history at its fullest. The saga of the Covenanters is a story elucidating colonisation "it describes an action that began, progressed over a well-defined period-of-time finally it drew to a close its consequences relevant because of its placement in the narrative" of Ngāti Koi iwi (Cronon, 1992, 1367).

For Ngāti Koi this cultural, physical and geographical void had to be corrected, the stories within Hauraki Māori Trust Boards research reports were a wake-up call they became catalysts for kaumātua who determined that Ngāti Koi, Ngāti Tara Tokanui will narrate their own histories, tell their stories, say who they are, where they come from for only then will the history-the correct history, be told. And why is that? because tūpuna narratives are born from the paepae of the iwi who whakapapa from ancestress and tūpuna. They are not something imposed, begat from a place and people of another land. Nature, geography and iwi are inextricably entangled through whakapapa, this is what marks story from narrative, this is what marks iwi from tauiwi.

7.3.8 The narrative of Story

Stories idealise the world tūpuna narratives change it

This study enabled me to determine and mark the differences between story and narrative. Stories have endings and it is this that sets it apart from tūpuna narrative which is the rhetorical practice of reflecting on the plots, scenes and tropes that interweave iwi, nature, geography, Māori and cosmogony. This is what occurred for Ngāti Koi. They moved beyond the storied telling of colonisation and moved to that place of narrative created by tūpuna and in doing so enabled the process of praxis of iwi mana-motuhake.

7.3.9 The key findings of this chapter:

Whakapapa is the quintessential element of all life
Tūpuna narrative practices enshrine and protect whakapapa
Narrative study is a field of study in its own right
Story is the constituent element of narrative

> Through hegemonic practices our focus is maintained on story, the bigger narrative of colonisation is neglected
> Iwi tūpuna narrative practices are epistemological practices,
> When iwi and scholars Māori speak the narratives of tūpuna we repatriate the academic spaces currently dominated by tauiwi
> Narrative practices are more than describing they reinscribe, they are more than telling they recite, analyse, designate and codify.
> Without tūpuna narratives there would be no history, there would be no iwi…

7.4 Methodology:

Key question: what do we mean by identity and is there a difference between Māori and tauiwi notions of identity?

Contextualised by Kaupapa Māori this study proposes intersectorality a new methodology established to uncover the multiple strata and the complex intersections that attend colonisation. From my observations of weaving a Tukutuku panel, I drew associations with the painstaking work of the weavers threading pingao through a panel and interlinking disparate theories with kaupapa Māori. And where the layers meet, crisscrossing, interweaving back and forth I have likened to the theory of 'intersectorality' as set out by Bannerji (2017).

In this study, I aligned the theoretical elements of 'critical' alongside kaupapa Māori to identify the relations that underpin 'colonisation' at its establishment, settler, stage and its metamorphosis as a modern institutional practice. These were discussed in the form of the agents the Crown willingly 'gave licence to' and its modern context of Treaty Settlements.

Earlier on in this work, page 113, I discussed Keenan's concept of kawa 'that iwi speak from their Marae-iwi, about their Marae-iwi, for their Marae-iwi' (Keenan, 2009). However, there are pitfalls to this tikanga in that it continues the silencing of iwi voices. To speak of the injustices perpetrated by the Crown and its agents involves a discussion of all iwi. From the standpoint of iwi speaking about themselves and their Marae silences the ongoing acts of injustice perpetrated by 'other' iwi. How do we speak of the injustices of whakapapa, stolen and falsified

by another iwi, how do we speak of the re-imaging of identity so as to put back the pieces for to speak of these injustices continues the stigmatisation: the labelled markings bearing the names humiliation, shame and degradation.

Aligning and mixing

The methodological framework of this study is based on the concept of raranga. This notion of interweaving is influenced by the tikanga practices of our parents and the alignment of 'critical' alongside Kaupapa Māori, authored by Hingangaroa Smith in his ground-breaking thesis. Kaupapa methods of 'whatu' and 'raranga' are applied to interweave disparate strands of theories incorporating indigenous, eastern and western research concepts within a korowai of Kaupapa Māori resulting in a scholastic study based on a narrative framework. Tūpuna narratives narrate whakapapa, they pass the genealogical integrity of Māori, Māori mana-motuhake and whānaungatanga. Their importance as the structuring guidelines: the principles that underpin iwi cultural identity cannot be underscored.

Mā muri ā mua ka tikā

Tūpuna narratives provide the rich multilayered meanings of historical and personal events, they connect present-day iwi beyond time to cosmogony: without tūpuna narrative, there would be no history on which to 'affix' future and present contexts. The Kaupapa Māori principle 'mā muri ā mua ka tika' has been utilised in this thesis as a methodological tool to bring forwards tūpuna narratives, into the present time.

By applying the kaupapa Māori methodology 'mā muri ā mua ka tika" this work becomes an 'intellectual intervention' with 'political intent.' Alongside critical Marxism, it is a form of direct activism, a way of rethinking political-intellectual work, itself, as an intervention into the changing conditions and emergent struggles. It does not seek to break with the past but, works with the past to build new kinds of knowledge. This principle has been most useful in terms of enabling the bringing forwards of tūpuna narratives to apply them as a strategic intervention in my work.

I have tested this theory not simply as words but as art forms, symbols, the values and principles of kaupapa Māori.

The focus of this study is tūpuna narrative as a guiding conceptual framework to make sense of certain events that created a break in the chain of identity and identification practices of an iwi. In the telling of this narrative, the substance of what I have discussed is not 'new' information. Somewhere, the topics have been discussed. What is new is that I applied tūpuna narrative as 'ma mua ā muri ka tikā' a conceptual framework to guide how I have selected and synthesized, pieced together the fragments of information to enable the multi-layered textures of the deep past to be brought into the present day as one cohesive whole.

This study has established that a conjunctural crisis occurred and as a result, the identity practices of Ngāti Koi iwi were silenced. A process of conscientisation ensued resulting in the revitalisation of the narratives of Te Keepa Raharuhi. This created the conditions of praxis which is the making and remaking of iwi cultural identity. With mana-motuhake as its final goal tūpuna narratives become a mode of conscientisation and transformation as such, they can be extrapolated across iwi to form a nation named Māori.

7.4.1 The key findings of the methodology chapter:

Māori methodologies transpose epistemology from the past into the present for future generations

Māori methods and techniques assist our understanding of how certain social relations create a conjunctural crisis they underpin the methodology as to how these can be overcome,

Critical kaupapa Māori methodological approaches must be applied to understand and vanquish the persistence of colonisation in Aotearoa.

By aligning Māori philosophy with southern Marxism assists our understanding of the structured institutionalised nature of colonisation.

7.5 Identity

Key question: what do we mean by identity and is there a difference between Māori and tauiwi notions of identity?

The key question of this chapter what do we mean by identity and is there a difference between Māori and tauiwi notions of identity? Over time scholars have come to speak of identity in the same breath as whakapapa imparting a sense they are similar concepts: clearly they are not. Identity and whakapapa hail from different epistemological constellations. The quintessential prerequisite element of Māori whakapapa is unchangeable. Identity, on the other hand, is changeable it is a fluid concept which Hall (1996) describes as always in the process of becoming. Iwi and Māori identity can change over time such as occurred for Ngāti Koi; however, the Ngāti Koi whakapapa cannot be changed. The Ngāti Koi whakapapa was falsified the effect reaped the silencing of Ngāti Koi for some 186 years. The inclusion of identity in this study was to establish these key factors and to join with Moya in her attempts to reclaim theory as an academic concept of repute. Currently, identity remains one of the most urgent, hotly disputed topics in literary and cultural studies (Moya, 2000, p.1). A number of issues are reflected in the sub-questions of this study, such as why are there so many terms and meanings for identity? Does it have relevance for this study? The issues I contend, are not related to the concept of identity as a term but, to its Cartesian roots that are essentialist in both nature and character, therefore identity as a concept is limited in both its scope and application. Given the above issues, I recommend that kaupapa Māori conceptual approaches are utilised as appropriate alternatives. For too long indigenous scholars have applied tauiwi concepts, by engaging in the development of theoretical kaupapa practices we create academic spaces for Māori and indigenous theories, concepts and methods.

7.5.1 The key findings of the identity chapter:

whakapapa is not the same as identity, whakapapa cannot change, under certain conditions identity can change,

given its Cartesian roots and its attendant doctrine of identity as something fixed and frozen: identity as a field of study in its own right becomes problematic.

Critical Kaupapa Māori conceptual approaches are the preferred models for engaging issues of iwi, identity and culture.

7.6 Recommendations: Areas for future work

An outstanding key question of this chapter is what is the etymology of critical kaupapa Māori? It is Smiths landmark thesis (1997) that firstly discusses 'critical' as Māori scholarship, as a whole, his thesis is an outstanding contribution to Māori theoretical development, to the development of Critical Kaupapa Māori and praxis.

The etymology of 'critical' as applied by Smith are the theories of the Frankfurt School, as a concept it origins from Marx and adapted by Horkheimer and Adorno. As Māori scholars we have had to align, fuse, mix and match disparate concepts with kaupapa Māori, this mixing and aligning is problematic in that it reflects the complexity of issues that confront Māori it reflects a dearth of cultural conceptions espoused by Māori for Māori and by Māori and importantly in the language and dialects of tūpuna confronted with colonisation. The loss of language was not factored into this work, however, from the standpoint of this study, it is hoped that given the work of Kura Kaupapa the increase of fluent speakers of Te Reo Māori will have a positive impact on studies and kaupapa Māori research. There will be more work on Māori conceptual approaches written in Te Reo and there will be a critical mass of Māori scholars to develop this work further.

Regrettably, there is a dearth of research work relating to colonisation, praxis and Māori. Actions are required to overturn the hegemonic rule that confronts Māori however, more research is required to understand 'the blockages,' situations and conditions preventing the ongoing achievement of praxis, more research on colonisation as a destruction of praxis is well overdue.

Finally, in answer to the key question of this study, what are tūpuna narratives? They are the essences of this study and the work of those Māori scholars who write on this subject: that makes them a field of study in-its-own-right. To the second part of the question, what is praxis? Praxis is the non-violent alternative to war it is the revitalisation of iwi institutions and the penultimate iwi mana motuhake. The final point of this thesis is in the form of a question. Have I answered

the key question of this study “what are tūpuna narratives and how do they inform iwi praxis?” To this question, I simply reply, yes!

EPILOGUE

Ko te awa āhau, ko āhau te awa
we are born of maunga, the hills and the valleys
of the sea the creeks and the rivers
Wheresoever our journeys take us
Whakapapa will always be home...

Implications for Ngāti Koi and the Hauraki Treaty Claims Process.

In casting this ending, I am mindful of the story I have attempted to tell of the modern-day Hauraki Treaty Claims process and what it means, in real terms, within the narrative of Ngāti Koi.

This study has examined the 'struggle' for cultural identity by critically analysing tūpuna narratives as oral discourses among the Ngāti Koi of Hauraki. The transformations in iwi cultural identity and social representation are analysed in relationship to the hegemonic discourses of power and ownership of the cultural and physical resources. 'Halls conjunctural analysis alongside Bhabha's model of liminality are proposed as a means of connecting the dots between cultural collectives, historical periods between politics and theory - theory and practice. It is in this light that the 19th century Te Kooti Tango Whenua (The Native Land Court) and The Waitangi Tribunal must be seen. In this study, they are theorised as hybrid sites for the ritual negotiation of cultural identity and practice by Ngāti Koi. Rather than just the reflection of cultural meanings, they are places that witness and construct the production of identity, a space that does not separate but rather mediates mutual exchange and relative meanings.

As stories and identity markers Tūpuna Narratives need to be understood more profoundly, their presence is an important component in substantiating Treaty Claims. However, their absence can entrench alienation undermining an iwi or hapuu('s) Treaty Rights

The Waitangi Tribunal is a Crown mechanism established under an Act of Parliament the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975. A standing commission of inquiry it makes the (final) 'decisions' producing recommendations on claims brought by Māori relating to legislation, policies actions of the Crown that allege to breach promises, actions or omissions of the Crown. As an arbiter of 'justice,' it selects the narratives that inform a Treaty Settlement process. That is, it may select knowledge that is 'in' and which will count; conversely, they may also select knowledge that is 'out' and which will be discounted. To confirm the validity of Wai Claims the Tribunal would have put their own researchers into the project prior to the public hearing so as to 'scope' the boundaries of the case. This research should have scoped the 'tūpuna narratives' of all the hapū and iwi (including Ngāti Koi) so that the Tribunal is alerted to all of the competing interests. As such the responsibility for the absence of various iwi voices (tūpuna narratives) may also sheet back to this group.

In its summarising of the Hauraki Treaty Settlements, the Waitangi Tribunal's Hauraki Report refers to Ngāti Tara as having "... acquired the alternative name Ngāti Koi" (Waitangi Tribunal Report, 2006, p.42). On pages 48, 65 of the same report specific adjectives are applied to describe the iwi: on page 70 a number of these are reversed. The story of Ngāti Koi is interwoven with those of another iwi they are drawn from and retold by the descendants of 'another' iwi. Questions related to notions of 'balance', 'fairness' and 'weighting;' about who gets to speak; about the validity of voice; about ventriloquism' (others speaking for Ngāti Koi); about 'silence;' about what is actually 'heard' by the Tribunal panel, remain.

How an iwi defines themselves and how they resolve - align matters of identity and whakapapa is a matter for that iwi and those iwi that may or may not agree. This is called a tikanga process in the manner narrated by Mead (2003) Walker (1990).

In its findings on the Tauranga Moana and Hauraki Overlapping claims (Wai 2616) the Tribunal recommended that "the Crown should halt the progress of legislation giving effect to the Pare Hauraki Collective Settlement Deed (signed 2 August 2018) and individual Hauraki iwi settlement deeds to:-"

> "includ[e]*ing* by facilitating the use of tikanga-based processes. While it is not the Crown's role to devise such processes itself, it needs to do much more to provide space for them to operate as a

> means of testing overlapping interests, resolving conflict, and repairing relationships" (Waitangi Tribunal, 2019, p.7)
> "The Tribunal recommends that the Crown, when undertaking overlapping engagement processes during settlement negotiations, fully commits to and facilitates consultation, information-sharing, and the use of tikanga-based resolution processes that reflect the below principles identified" (Ibid, 2019, p.8).

At a minimum one would expect that the Tribunal would practice the processes it recommends other Crown agencies and iwi should follow. By practising the principles it purports to emulate such as "the principle of partnership: equal treatment, the duty to act honourably and in good faith to all iwi, the duty to protect or preserve amicable tribal relationships, ..to follow ... a tikanga based process" (Waitangi Tribunal, 2019, pp, 11, 12, 13) a praxis compliant process would be adhered to. These are the principles Ngāti Koi anticipated, indeed expected, when it entered the Waitangi Tribunal Treaty Settlements environment.

Taking a praxis position the ideology of the Tribunal would be turned on its head. To put it simply the saying 'practice what you preach' embodies this thesis it applies to the Crown, equally it applies to the Waitangi Tribunal, it should have applied by the Native Land Court. At no time have 'other' iwi who have told stories of Ngāti Koi, Ngāti Tara Tokanui done so in a tikanga process importantly, neither have they been 'compelled' to do so by either the Crown and or the Waitangi Tribunal. Rather, they have contrived their stories in the refuge of the Civil Commissioner, the Crown Agent, the settler hungry for mammon, the 'quickee' settlor-Crown-administrator of the day.

By saying one thing, and doing the opposite is a destruction of praxis in that the Tribunal became the arbiter of representation, the authoriser of cultural meanings thus replicating the role undertaken by its 19th-century counterpart-Te Kooti Tango Whenua. For some scholars, conditions have changed positing new problems. Theories developed to understand one historical moment, are hopelessly out of date. For iwi, colonisation remains the same – it has simply reproduced itself in new and different forms.

That the descendants of Tiki Te Aroha define themselves as Ngāti Koi and how critical aspects of manamoana manawhenua are maintained is the responsibility and right for the iwi Ngāti Tara Tokanui to understand and discourse. And so where to from here for Ngāti Koi. Included in the Deeds of Treaty Settlements is the separate identification of Ngāti Koi within the Treaty Deeds of Settlement. Finally, the identity of Ngāti Koi is recorded alongside the whakapapa of Ngāti Tara Tokanui, the descendants of Tiki Te Aroha have come home.

Underneath that sacred maunga
where the darkly waters glimmer
Rapa-tio-tio will not surrender
hine daughter of Te Muri

All who speak O-hine-muri
join the chanting of the ages,
Right the wrong, return the taonga
Ngāti Koi, Ngāti Tara Tokanui...

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